

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

"OPEN THY MOUTH FOR THE DUMB, IN THE CAUSE OF ALL SUCH AS ARE APPOINTED TO DESTRUCTION; OPEN THY MOUTH, JUDGE RIGHTEOUSLY, AND PLEAD THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY."—1st Eccl. xxxi. 8, 9.

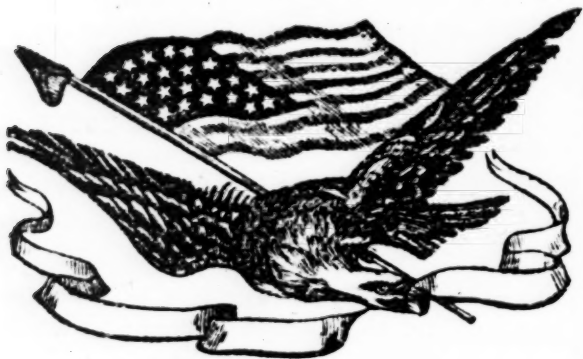
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DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

FREEDOM FOR ALL,



OR CHAINS FOR ALL.

POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARD SLAVERY.

Few things could better illustrate the extent to which the national conscience has been perverted, blinded and depraved by slavery, than the attitude of favor which the American Government has assumed toward it in the present conflict with the slaveholding traitors and rebels. Slavery has drawn the nation to the very verge of destruction. It has turned loose upon the Government an hundred thousand armed men, eager to embue their rebel hands in the warm blood of loyal citizens. It has inaugurated piracy and murder on the sea, and theft and robbery on the land. It has destroyed credit, repudiated just debts, driven loyal citizens from their homes, ruined business, arrested the majestic wheels of progress, and converted a land of peace and plenty into a land of blood and famine. It has diverted capital, industry and invention from the channels of peace, and filled the land with war and rumors of war, so that the whole people are under a cloud of terror and alarm. It has attempted to supplant Government with anarchy, and the fury of a brutal mob for the beneficent operation of law, and the legally appointed law-makers.—It has blasted our peace and prosperity at home, and brought shame and disgrace upon us abroad. It has robbed our treasury, plundered our forts and arsenals, trampled on our Constitution and laws, threatened Washington, and insulted the national flag—and yet how has the Government treated this foul and red-mouthed dragon? Why, thus far, with the utmost deference, tenderness and respect. The President is careful to proclaim his pacific intentions towards it; generals acting under him offer themselves and their men, unasked, to uphold it, and are at the pains of sending back to its blood-thirsty dominion those who have fled from it.

1. It is said the slaves are property and ought to be respected. Let us look at the matter in this its most favorable light. The whole title of slavery to respect, is based upon the idea that the *slave is property*. Beyond this, slavery imposes no obligation, and discharges none. Its one, single, sole, and only merit is that its victims are (so called) property.—

The slaves are property, just as horses, sheep and swine are property—just as houses, lands, agricultural and mechanical implements are property. The right to a slave is no more sacred than the right to a horse or cow, or a barrel of flour. In law they are chattels, things, merchandize, and subject to all the conditions and liabilities of sale, transfer and barter, in time of peace, and of seizure and confiscation, like any other property, in time of war. If our Government is bound to respect the rights of property in a slave, it can only be to the extent to which it is bound to respect all other property. It clearly has no right to discriminate in favor of slave property as against any other species of property. If it does so discriminate, special and powerful reasons are demanded for such a policy.—Why should the flour and iron of the non-slaveholding merchant of Richmond be seized and appropriated by the Government, while the slave of the slaveholder, which slaveholder has helped foment this rebellion, is carefully returned to his master, as a piece of property too sacred to lose its character as property, even though its owner is an open traitor to the Government? What is this but punishing the possibly innocent, and rewarding the certainly guilty? What is it but an uncalled for, gratuitous and humiliating concession to the very heart and core of the treason which has placed itself above and opposed to the laws under which those engaged in it might otherwise claim to have this very species of property respected? Viewed, therefore, solely as property, and granting all its sacredness as such, it stands precisely on a footing with all other property recognized as such by the laws of the land. From this clear and incontestable position, it is plain that any plausible argument or rule of action, upon which the present American Government admits special favor to this species of property, must be based upon considerations other than the mere claim of property.

2. If the policy of our Government, in putting down slave insurrections and returning fugitive slaves who escape to our army and our forts, during this war, cannot be defended upon the plea that slaves are property, it certainly cannot be defended on the ground of natural justice. By that law, universal, 'unchangeable and eternal,' every man is the rightful owner of his own body, and to dispossess him of this right, is, and can only be, among the highest crimes which can be committed against human nature. The only foundation for slavery is positive law against natural law, and the only positive law that binds the national Government in any way to do ought towards supporting slavery, is now cast off, and set at open defiance by the slaveholding traitors and rebels. The Confederate Slave States have flung away the law, and resorted to rebellion for the protection of slave property. Should they not be allowed—nay, should they not be made to feel all the disadvantages of their choice? Why should

the strong and swift-sailing ship *Union* follow in the wake of the rotten and rickety slave ship of the Confederate States, to save passengers, property or crew, when dashed to pieces by the storm? Should they not be made to suffer all the consequences of their deliberate folly? They have appealed to Cæsar—should they not be compelled to abide by Cæsar's judgment? They have forsaken the law—why should the law seek after them? The common sense, we say nothing of the humanity of the people, who bear the expense of blood and treasure in putting down this slaveholding rebellion, can and will come to but one, and only one conclusion, namely—that if there ever was any legal obligation resting upon them to assist in putting down a slave insurrection, or to restore fugitive slaves to their masters, that obligation is inoperative, suspended and void while the rebellion is still in progress, and that to do any such thing as to suppress a rising of slaves, or to return fugitives to their so called masters, is a work of supererogatory servility and wickedness.

3. But the policy of the Government, viewed only in the light of military wisdom, is most wretched. The slaves are not only property, but they are men, capable of love and hate, of gratitude and revenge, of making sacrifices to serve a friend, or to chastise an enemy. It is, therefore, in the circumstances of our Government, the wildest and most wanton folly to teach this element of power, for good or for evil, to hate the American flag. They are the natural friends of all who would check and subdue the malign powers of their masters. But when the Government shall thoroughly convince the slave population that their friendship is to be repaid with enmity—that they have nothing more to expect from the Star-Spangled Banner than from the Confederate flag—they will curse the very earth shaded by the presence of a United States soldier, and welcome any means to rid the South of their unnatural enemies. What they have done already, in building forts, entrenchments, and other drudgery for their Southern masters, under compulsion, they will do as patriotic duty, as a means of escaping evils unseen and mitigating those they already endure. The slave will mingle his curses with those of his master upon the head of the Northern invader and destroyer, and be among the foremost of those to fight for his expulsion. The evils of the war is not to be confined to the master. The slave will suffer in his food and raiment. He will have to make bricks without straw, and perform his task without the incentive of a possible holiday, and a few hours of seeming liberty, for he will be kept under a more rigorous surveillance than ever before. The crafty slaveholders will know well how to excuse this increased rigor. It will be cunningly set to the account of these Northern hordes who are come to plunder, destroy and ruin the South. The very best way, therefore, for the Govern-

ment to give the slaveholders a stick to break its own head, is to take up and cling to a line of policy of favor to slavery.

4. The glaring impolicy of alienating the slave population becomes the more striking in view of the situation of the conflict. 'Knowledge is power,' and no where more than in war. Battles are won by knowledge, rather than by arms; and battles are often lost, rather by the want of knowledge, than the want of arms. To know the movements, the position and the number of the enemy, just where and when they mean to strike, is of first importance. Without this knowledge, we strike in the dark, and as one who beateth the air. To gain knowledge of the situation of the enemy, and to keep that enemy ignorant of your own situation, is one of simplest dictates of military prudence. Now, by making enemies of the slaves, the Government destroys one means of obtaining valuable information. It might be in the power of a slave, in a given case, to save the lives of thousands, to prevent discomfiture and defeat to a whole army. But what slave would put himself to the least trouble of imparting such information, if made certain before hand that he should be rewarded with slavery and chains? What slave would hesitate to deceive and mislead an army when that army had only brought to him and his, stripes, hunger, nakedness, and an every way more rigorous bondage? The Washington Government, in offering to put down slave insurrections, in sending back to infuriated masters the slaves who may escape to them, enacts the folly of maiming itself before striking down its enemy, of increasing the number of its enemies, and diminishing the number of its friends, of weakening itself while giving strength to the arm that would strike it down, of abusing its allies to please its implacable foes.

5. But while depriving itself of all possible advantage in the conflict with traitors, from their natural allies in the slave States, our Government seems bent upon making those natural allies efficient helps to the traitors.—We are for saving them all danger from sending spies into our camp. The black slave makes his way into our camp, reports himself a runaway slave, seeking his liberty, and asks for protection. While his tongue is busy, his eyes are busy also; and when he has seen just what he was desired to see, and obtained the information which those who sent him most of all want to know, we magnanimously send away the spy in peace, under military escort, to communicate his valuable information to our enemies. What hinders the Confederate rebels from using their slaves as spies, while they can do so without fear of loss of life or property? This, to be sure, is an idea of our own; but among the excited brains of the South they will not be long in hitting upon it if our Government persists in the gross absurdity of making their army the watch dog of the slave plantation, to guard and protect the rebels from insurrection, and from loss of the very species of property in defence of which they have plunged the nation into all the hardships and horrors of civil war. Instead of retaining them to help uphold the law, by giving valuable information, and building fortifications, we send them back to help the rebels destroy the Government, by imparting information, erecting fortifications, and using arms against the friends of the Government.

If this is military sagacity, where shall we look for military insanity?

6. In a moral and humane point of view, the conduct of our Government towards the few slaves coming within their power, would be a disgrace to savages. Even a man in arms against us will be spared when he cries quarter; but we pounce upon the slave who comes, not in arms, but flings himself upon our charity; we bind him with chains, and fling him into the hands of both his, and our deadly enemies, to be tortured and killed, only for the crime of loving liberty better than slavery, disregarding all laws of humanity, asylum and hospitality. Such conduct, in the circumstances, is too monstrous, cruel and brutal, to be fittingly characterized by anything in the English tongue.

Perhaps, when the slaveholders shall have assassinated a few more ELLSWORTHS, poisoned a few more troops, sent out a few more pirates to prey upon our commerce, hanged and shot a few more Union-loving and loyal citizens, shed the blood of a few more soldiers, mobbed a few more loyal troops, our Government will begin to treat them like enemies, and no longer be guilty of the folly and crime of treating them as friends, for whom it may excusably stain its soul with innocent blood, to increase their power for future mischief and murder. But whatever may come to pass after suitable instruction, in this slaveholding revolutionary school thro' which the nation is passing, the sad truth stares us in the face at every turn, that slavery is still the dominant and master power in the country, and that it has perverted the moral sense, blinded and corrupted the mind and heart of the nation beyond all power of exaggeration, and that overawed by the accursed slave system, our Government is still clinging to the delusion that it can put down treason without putting down their cause; that it can break the power of the slaveholders, without breaking down that in which their power consists.

—At this point of our writing, a statement has reached us which, if true, slightly relieves the picture thus drawn, and shows that our Government is taking a wiser and more humane course towards those of the slaves who succeed in getting within the lines of our army. General BUTLER, now at Fort Monroe, who a few weeks ago at Annapolis, under circumstances which made the act peculiarly and abominably hateful and shocking, offered, unasked, to suppress a reported rising among the slaves in Anne Arundel county, has now promptly received a number of fugitives into his camp, and set them to work, refusing, on the demand of the rebels, to give them up to their masters. This is as it should be, and shows that better ideas are beginning to control the action of our army officers. The men of our Northern army did not quit their homes and families, and expose themselves to all the hardships and dangers of war, to hunt slaves and put down slave insurrections. They have not gone down there as the guards and watch dogs of the slaveholders, to ferret out the slave in the dismal swamp, and to rivet the fetters more firmly upon the limbs of the bondmen; and to compel them to do it, is a scandalous outrage, which should be exposed, rebuked and abandoned at once. Gen. BUTLER has made progress, and that is something.—The end is not yet. He has come to put

slaves on a footing with other property, entitled to no more respect than any other—a new thing under the sun of the Old Dominion—but the General will not stop here. He is within the broad and all-controlling current of events, and if the war continues, we shall see him contending for the freedom of all those slaves who have assisted the Government in putting down the slaveholding rebellion. It is our work here to radiate around our army and Government the light and heat of justice and humanity, and make it impossible for them to fling one soul back into the jaws of bondage which has escaped to them for an asylum during this war.

DANGER TO THE ABOLITION CAUSE.

Very evidently we are on the verge of a new danger—a danger of thinking and acting as if our work were done, when in fact we are still only at the beginning of that work. Speculations as to the final result of the tremendous conflict now going forward between the slaveholding rebels and the Federal Government, are of every variety; but they generally lean to the side of freedom, and we think properly so. Anti-slavery men, characteristically hopeful, see in the result of this clash of arms the certain and complete abolition of slavery. It is true they do not and cannot tell us how this thing is to be accomplished, or point us to any particular measure or policy of the Government at Washington, or of the army in the field, in any way calculated to bring about this result; but they still hope and believe that by some means now inscrutable, Providence will bring freedom to the slave out of this civil war. Herein is the danger of our laying down our mighty arms of truth and love before our great work of moral regeneration has been in any measure accomplished, and the millions of our fellows are still in chains.

We, too, are hopeful, but look not for miracles. We are not expecting to see the waters roll asunder, and give to those now in bondage a dry road to freedom, and then roll back again and swallow up the pursuing hosts of our modern Pharaohs; we are not expecting manna from heaven to satisfy the hunger of the emancipated, nor water to gush forth from the solid rock to quench their thirst.—We have to deal with stubborn facts, and with fixed laws, and to regulate our conduct in the light of their certain operation. Nothing should be left to chance or to accident.

In saying this we would not be understood as casting aside the consoling support arising from the faith that all the Divine powers of the universe are on the side of freedom and progress, for with a grateful heart and a cheerful spirit this faith should be firmly clung to, and closely cultivated. In this we say to our friends, in every trial and season of darkness, 'cast not away your confidence.' He that is for us is more than all that can be against us. No people ever needed this faith more than we who are contending against the huge and powerful system of American slavery. But we need it the better to enable us to work. Our faith is at once to be suspected the moment it leads us to fold our hands and leave the cause of the slave to Providence. This has been the great and deadly sin of the American church and clergy from the beginning. They have piously left the question of slavery to Providence, loving their own ease,

and shrinking from every cross which required of them manly and heroic qualities; they have piously and psalm-singingly committed all into the hands of the Lord, and branded Abolitionists as great sinners because they have refused to do the same. It has been the standing excuse for inaction—the perpetual apology for guilty complicity in the crime of slavery. No doctrine is more grateful to the heart of the slaveholder, than that which would leave slavery to Divine Providence.—All that he asks is to be *let alone*. He can rest quite secure from Divine power, if he can only escape human power. An anti-slavery movement in heaven gives the tyrant slaveholder no alarm while it keeps away from the earth. He fears more from the human conscience than from the Divine conscience. A meeting for prayer gives far less alarm than a meeting for works.

We have need just now to reflect upon primary and fundamental principles—that effects do evermore flow from causes, and are in exact accordance with them in meagreness or in magnitude. We may not always be able to comprehend the form and power of causes, or the extent of their operation by attending exclusively to them; but we know that plenty comes not of idleness, that figs are not gathered of thistles, nor grapes of thorns. What of anti-slavery feeling there is in the country that is really good for anything, is the result of earnest, persevering, long-continued and faithful enforcement of anti-slavery principle, by argument, appeal, and warning, and by the stringent application of truth to the heart and conscience of the nation. We think we need this now as much as ever, and that this is no time for dispensing with a single means to this end, but rather a time for increasing them. Some of our friends, we think, in the present moment of deep excitement, by what we must consider partial and exaggerated views of the causes which have led to the grand uprising of the North in support of the Government against the slaveholding rebels, have fallen into the error of supposing that their work is now done, and if not done, it will be done by others. We have been dazzled by the splendor and sublimity of this mighty uprising, and in the excitement of the moment have failed to subject its elements to the severe criticism we are generally accustomed to bestow upon developments affecting the great question of slavery.

The more we observe of the progress of this war, the more we see that the great North has but very imperfectly learned the lesson which the Abolitionists have been endeavoring to teach them during the last thirty years, and the need of greater exertions on our part to teach that lesson. Neither slavery nor the slaveholder is understood. The slave system is still recognized by both Government and army as a lawful institution, and the guilty slaveholder, with hands covered with blood and ready for the darkest deeds of piracy and assassination, is to be conciliated by deeds of so-called magnanimity. We are still hugging the delusion that we can crush out treason without hurting the traitors; that we can put down a slaveholding rebellion without weakening or abridging the privileges of slaveholding. All this has got to be unlearned; and now is the time, and Abolitionists are the men and the women to carry on the instruction

by aid of the facts that are every day occurring. He who speaks now, not only has something to say, but has somebody to hear. Slavery, always hateful to the moral sense, shocking to the better sentiment of human nature, has added to its hateful character all the hatefulness of rank treason and red-handed rebellion, and has thus given the anti-slavery advocate an additional advantage before the people in assailing it. Now is the time to expose its true character, and dash against it, with all the force of its own violence, the hot and condemning brand of an aroused and outraged nation. Down with the ten thousand-times accursed slave system, should now thunder from every platform and pulpit in the land. Instead of giving up anti-slavery meetings, we should increase them; instead of calling home our anti-slavery agents, we should send out more; and instead of allowing anti-slavery papers to languish for support, we should earnestly labor to extend their circulation and to increase their influence.

A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE.

We have too much human nature lurking beneath our sable skin not to notice, with moderate exultation, the change which has taken place recently in the attitude of Mr. GARRISON and his friends, in respect to the American Union. There are personal, as well as public reasons for our present joy; and though we might for the sake of appearances, attempt to conceal the personal reasons in the public ones, those who know anything of our humble history, during the last ten years, could not fail to see that DOUGLASS feels a personal, if not a little malicious pleasure in finding Mr. GARRISON and his friends in their present attitude of devotion to the American Union. Ten years ago, we came to the hard belief, and avowed it, that the battle of freedom should be fought within the Union, and not out of it; that instead of leaving the Union on account of slavery, we should stand by the Union, and drive out slavery. This belief, and the avowal of it, cost us more than we are able or willing to tell; for it branded us as an 'apostate,' and drove us from the fellowship of those whom we had long loved and venerated as the chosen champions of the cause of the slave. Nevertheless, we talked and acted in accordance with our new faith, and endeavored to convince and convert our old friends. But they met us with dogmas and formulas, far too potent for our arguments. 'No union with slaveholders,' 'Covenant with death,' &c., 'Blood-stained Union,' 'Madison papers,' 'Phillips's reply to Spooner,' 'Dissolution of the Union,' 'Dissolution of slavery,' were flung at us with such energy and earnestness, that we were compelled to take our hat and be off. Well now, all is changed. Events are more potent than arguments. Ten years' experience, and one month of rebellion, have timed even the footsteps of Mr. GARRISON, the *Liberator*, and the *Standard*, to the music of the Union. The poor old *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, like the foolish virgins, not being quite ready for the startling cry at midnight, has been cast into outer darkness. The Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and that of the New York Anti-Slavery Society, have been carefully put out of the way of the great Union movement of the hour; the *Liberator* is for the Union as against traitors and rebels. The Star-

Spangled Banner 'clings (no longer) to the mast head heavy with blood,' but floats benignantly from the peaceful columns of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*; while the eloquent PHILLIPS tells the thousands who hear him in Music Hall, 'To-day, the slave asks God for a sight of that flag.' PILLSBURY, from the granite hills of New Hampshire, shakes his large head in doubt, but tells his friends he will try to be hopeful, though it is plain that the old 'field hand' of the Garrisonians does not quite relish the new position of his associates. BERRIAH GREEN, too—a name seldom mentioned, till recently, either in 'tones of kindness,' or in any other tones, in Garrisonian circles—is most evidently a little troubled by what he sees and hears among his new friends and associates. He holds this American Government to be a huge mass of corruption, 'a foul, haggard, and damning conspiracy,' and he does not quite understand why Abolitionists should all at once cease thus to regard and characterize it.

Meanwhile, the Union sentiment is spreading among our old friends, and will soon become the common faith of all. We spoke ten years too soon, or rather the slaveholding rebellion came just ten years too late, else to-day we might have been a member, in good and regular standing, in the Garrisonian anti-slavery church, instead of being, as now, a worker for the slave as a single individual.—Well, to make a short story of it, we are very glad—indeed, have lived to see Messrs. GARRISON and PHILLIPS just where they are.—They have shown themselves not above instruction. They have not been able to get slavery out of the Union, and have jumped at the first chance of killing it in the Union, and by the Union.

JOHN BROWN, JR.—The close watch kept upon the movements of this gentleman, and the many strange designs attributed to him by the newspapers of the day, shows that the nation does not easily forget the hero and martyr of Harper's Ferry, and that the people still think that the father lives in the son. The slaveholders have known no repose since old JOHN BROWN held Harper's Ferry. They dwell in the midst of alarms, and are strangers to a sense of security. Guilty wretches, they invite all the heavy judgments which are now bursting upon them. Young JOHN BROWN is still alive, though his glorious father sleeps among the rocks and mountains of Essex.—Of this we were exceedingly glad to have had tangible proof only a few days ago. Many of the statements concerning him are erroneous. The story that he has a company of men near the Southern border, within a few days march of Virginia, is the coinage of the general alarm, and need not be credited. Mr. BROWN will, we trust, know his hour and perform his part in the cause of freedom. He is too good a singer to sing out of time or tune. We were happy in finding him in excellent health, and thoroughly alive to the important events now transpiring. A note from his bugle can at once bring to him a thousand men, ready for any enterprize which shall promise liberty to the slave and humiliation to the master. To those who are eager, and even complaining of tardiness, we commend patience. The Northern people and the Government are gradually learning the lesson which they most of all stand in need of.—They will yet welcome aid from the right quarter.

THE COURSE OF MARYLAND.

All that cunning treachery and violence could do, have thus far failed to drive Maryland into the howling wilderness of disunion and open rebellion against the Federal Government. Her sympathies and her habits of thought, produced by the existence of slavery within her borders, have been all with the rebels. No state in the Union has a more barbarous slave code, and in her remote districts, a more rigorous bondage. A conflict has long been going on in that State, and especially in Baltimore, her chief city between the civilization of the free States, and the barbarism of the slave States. Twenty-five years have scarcely passed away since, in the public market places of that city of monuments and churches, naked slaves were chained to whipping posts, suffering all the tortures of the bloody lash, under the gaze of women and children, congregated there to buy their daily bread.

That city has long been one of the chief slave markets of the country. The WOODFOLKS of thirty years ago, and the SLATERS of a later period, drove the infernal business with satanic energy and obduracy, filling their purses with the guilty price of innocence, tears and blood. We have seen their chain gangs of young men and women driven like cattle to the market, through the same Pratt street now stained with the blood of Massachusetts men. Accustomed to such scenes from early childhood, it is no wonder that violence and brutality, and all other crimes, should flourish there in profusion. The laws of mind are such that a man must either become indifferent to wrong, or more deeply roused against it by witnessing the barbarism of slavery. He must drink in the stream of cruelty, or turn with disgust and loathing from it. The tide of corruption and cruelty has been strong in that city, and yet since the days of good old ELISHA TYSON, there has been there a still, small voice which has been at work upon the better elements of human nature, occasionally revealing itself in the removal of some gross form of abuse, such as the abolition of the public whipping post, or the amelioration of the condition of the free colored people. The conflict has been noiseless, but none the less effective in its operation, and certain in its results. When, twenty-five years ago, we saw the old whipping post, opposite the County Wharf, removed, and naked slaves, no longer cruelly and shamefully whipped in the public market place; and when, still later, we saw the trade in human flesh seeking the wharves at midnight, rather than in the daylight, it became evident that slavery was on the retreat, and that it would finally disappear from the borders of that State. It has lingered longer than we hoped it would do; but its death is certain, and the very efforts now being made to perpetuate it, will only hasten its doom. Disunion has done its best and failed; and the natural consequence of the failure will be to bring odium and weakness upon the Slave Power which made the treasonable and rebellious attempt. They began their work too late. They should not have waited to destroy railroad bridges.—If they wanted slavery to continue in peace, they should have long ago rebelled against the building of railroads within the border of the State. The wild scream of the locomotive is the death knell of slavery. When

honey bees make their appearance on the outer border of western civilization, the Indians beat a retreat deeper into the far west. What bees are to the Indians, railroads are to slavery. Where men travel, commerce flourishes, arts multiply, knowledge increases, slavery stands but a poor chance of permanence.—Maryland has moved on in the career of improvement too rapidly and steadily to permit the idea of the permanence of slavery in that State. While watching the course of events in all other slave States, those now transpiring in the State of Maryland have for us a peculiar interest. It is the State of our birth and our bondage, and that of our kith and kin; and though many years have passed away since our first hopes of freedom were kindled on the banks of its Chesapeake, we still hope to live to see the soil of our birth free from the stain of slavery, and walk over the road in freedom where we once walked in chains.

The landed estates of Old England once shaped and controlled the policy of that noble country; but manufactures and commerce have dislodged and modified that power, and changes, marked and great, have been the result. The planters of Maryland, with their large corn and tobacco estates, once gave the law to Baltimore. Their influence is still great there; but its power is now broken.—The material out of which it used to coin its mobs will by-and-by be turned against it, and work its overthrow. The instinct of the mob is on the side of power; and since the power of the slaveholders is broken, and the power of the Federal Government comes to the relief of the long subordinate interest of the white mechanic and laborer, it is plain where the mob will be found hereafter. We look for a grand stampede of slaveholders from Maryland, with their slaves, to Southern or Gulf States, at the close of the present war, and for the speedy emancipation of the slaves that may remain. God speed the year of jubilee in our native State, and the wide world over!

EMIGRATION TO HAYTI.—The N. Y. *Tribune* notices the departure of thirty-eight emigrants from that port, for Hayti, on the 18th ult. The emigrants, comprising twenty-six adults, and twelve children, were chiefly from this city. They go out under the auspices of the Haytian Government, whose commissioner, JAMES REDPATH, Esq., has been indefatigable in his efforts to promote the benevolent views and wise policy of President GEFFRARD and his Government. Within the year, nearly three hundred have embarked for that Island, with the intention of accepting land for the purpose of cultivation. Their attention will be directed mainly to the growing of cotton, in the culture of which many of them are skilled. It would be desirable if the United States Government, in view of the important commercial relations already subsisting between Hayti and the United States, should look favorably on this movement, and the beneficial results to which it is auxiliary.—The 'Joseph Grice' is the name of the vessel in which our Rochester friends embarked, and we hope they will have a safe and speedy passage.

—At Marshfield, where the remains of Webster repose, a war fund of \$5,000 has been raised, and a bounty of \$11 is offered to each man who has enlisted or shall enlist.

ANTI-SLAVERY IN ROCHESTER.

Notwithstanding the marvelous change that has taken place in the tone of public sentiment in Rochester, as well as elsewhere, on the subject of slavery, we have not felt at liberty to cease to 'cry aloud and spare not,' and to hold up the standard of immediate and unconditional emancipation, as the first great duty of the American people. The opposition to slavery, now manifesting itself everywhere at the North, seems less based upon principle and a love of humanity, than upon irritation caused by the extravagance of the demands and pretensions of the slaveholders. This feeling may do something for the abolition of slavery, and we, therefore, rejoice in it; but we cannot forget that it has come upon us with the suddenness of the whirlwind, and that it may as suddenly subside, leaving the slave still in his chains, and the work of emancipation still to be done by the same agents and instrumentalities hitherto employed to that end. If the slaveholders should just confess that secession is a mistake, an absurdity, and an impossibility, as it clearly is, and return to their allegiance to the Federal Government, we fear that many voices, now loudly raised against it both in the pulpit, and on the platform, would die away in silence.—The spirit of compromise is still abroad here, and the feeling that the slave is a man and a brother, is still confined to the few. The mass of the people are yet under the dominion of prejudice against the enslaved, and cherish no deeper feeling against slavery than that which arises from a sense of the mischief it does to the white race, and the troubles and dangers it brings upon the country. We need still the hammer and the fire of the anti-slavery gospel applied without fear and without favor to the hearts of the people, and shall do so as long as the giant evil continues to rain down curses upon the land. We have, therefore, with others, been holding public anti-slavery meetings here every Sunday afternoon during the last six weeks, speaking to crowded houses, sowing the seed of sound Abolitionism, which, whether in peace or in war, will never rest until the slave is redeemed from his chains, and made to rejoice in the possession of his liberty.

In addition to these Sunday meetings we have recently been favored with a visit from WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, who, though he only gave us a lecture on Hayti, he so handled the subject that slavery after all was revealed in all its hideousness. The history of the struggles for liberty in San Domingo by the despised men of color, the hardships, dangers and horrors through which they hewed their way to freedom, could not fail to suggest thrilling analogies, both to speaker and hearers. WM. WELLS BROWN is a striking evidence of what a man can do in the way of self-culture in the course of a few years. His lecture was replete with instruction, and quite eloquently delivered. Comparing this with his earlier efforts of a dozen years ago, and the growth of the man is quite amazing.

We have had a visit from our old and esteemed friend J. W. LOGUEN, our General Agent of the Underground Railroad. He gave us, on Sunday, a discourse on slavery generally; but his works, rather than his speech commended him to the minds and hearts of his hearers. Miss HOLLEY was to have lectured for us last Sunday, but for some

unexplained cause, she failed to appear, to the great disappointment of a large and respectable audience. Our meetings have thus far been held in Zion Church; but the audience has so largely increased, that the house will not hold the crowds who flock to hear, and if the meetings are continued, as it is intended they shall be, the City Hall, or some other large building, will be secured for the purpose. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance, and work and wait should be the motto of every friend of the bondman, while slavery lifts its grim and savage front in the land. Our cry should ever be:

'Down let the shrine of Moloch sink,
And leave no traces where it stood,
Nor longer let its idol drink
His daily cup of human blood;
But rear another altar there,
To Truth and Love and Mercy given.'

ANTI-SLAVERY IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The letter from our ever faithful and zealous friend, Mrs. Dr. CROFTS, which we print in our present number, giving an account of the powerful anti-slavery efforts of Rev. Dr. CHEEVER, in Halifax, and of the general condition of anti-slavery feeling in England, is very gratefully received by us, and will be interesting to our readers. What our friend says of the general rush of Americans, in the shape of agents soliciting aid from the British public for anti-slavery purposes in America, may well be remembered by our friends here. It is the misfortune of almost every good cause which succeeds in awakening a large measure of sympathy in any particular quarter of the world, that men will take advantage of it, often to the serious prejudice of the cause itself. Great Britain's anti-slavery reputation and wealth, have naturally induced a large class of persons, more or less deserving, to fly to her from this and other countries, for aid of their special objects, immediately or remotely connected with the anti-slavery movement, till the thing is much overdone. It well becomes our trans-Atlantic friends and coadjutors to discriminate in lending aid to the different objects thus presented to them, and by no means to respond favorably to every application made to them from this side the sea in behalf of the enslaved. There are well known and well established channels through which the friends of the slave in Great Britain can assist the anti-slavery cause in America; and until our friends there have found these to be no longer efficient and entitled to confidence, they should continue to employ them.

The individual referred to in the letter of Mrs. CROFTS, is the Rev. Mr. BALME of Chicago. He is traveling and soliciting money among anti-slavery friends in England to indemnify himself for alleged pecuniary losses, incurred at Chicago in consequence of his fidelity to the anti-slavery cause. From what we know of Mr. BALME, his losses at Chicago were more the result of his temper and spirit, than of his fidelity to the slave. The shoulders of anti-slavery are broad, but they are hardly able to bear up under the weight of all the idiosyncrasies of some of the men who espouse the cause would fain lay upon them. Rev. Mr. BALME is at the pains, we are told, of making us a special object of attack, as a means of recommending himself to those from whom he solicits assistance.—His principal charge seems to be that we,

several years ago, at an anti-slavery meeting, denounced or ridiculed the doctrine of the atonement. The charge is of course false, and wholly inconsistent with our invariable mode of advocating the cause of the slave, the constant aim of which is to unite men of all religious opinions and persuasions on one common platform of justice and humanity, in the work for the overthrow of slavery. But we have no words to waste upon our defamer, and simply meet his allegations with our unqualified and emphatic denial.

CAPTAIN TATE.—We have been favored, within the last few days, with a brief interview with this distinguished stranger, and gladly make public note of the fact, both as a tribute due to the obvious qualities of that gentleman, and to the interesting country from which he comes. Hayti is a country which must ever remain, from the struggles and achievements of its people, dear to every colored man in America. We feel that she belongs not only to Haytians, but to us, and that our fortunes are in some measure connected with hers. The brave deeds of her illustrious men give strength and character to the colored race wherever found, whether in freedom or in chains; and by the light of her examples, the prophets of our race are able to scan the dim outlines of a desirable future. Our interview with Captain TATE, though brief, has left a very agreeable impression, both of the man, and of the present Government of Hayti, with which he is understood to be connected. He has the dignity and polish of a real gentleman, and the crystallized common sense of a keen observer of men and things. The Government of Hayti seems much better off than our own in one respect, taking Captain TATE as an illustration. We send men on missions who can neither speak nor write the language of the people to whom they are directed. Captain TATE converses easily and fluently in English, as well as in French and Spanish. No one can converse with him without feeling respect for the Government he represents. We hope to see and hear more from Captain TATE before he shall finish his tour of observation through the United States and Canada.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for June is before us, filled with choice and interesting articles, ranking as follows:—Agnes of Sorrento, Greek Lines, The Rose Enthroned, A Bag of Meal, Napoleon the Third, Concerning Things Slowly Learnt, American Navigation, Denmark Vesey, New York Seventh Regiment, Army-Hymn, The Pickens-and-Stealins' Rebellion, Recent American Publications.—The next number of this monthly will commence a new volume, which will be a good opportunity for new subscribers to send in their names.

In our next number we intend to publish the article on Denmark Vesey, copied from the present number of the *Atlantic*.

A COLORED MILITARY COMPANY.—A colored military company has been formed in Albany, Ohio, called the 'Attucks' Guards.' They turned out on the 15th of May, and marched to the residence of Rev. J. Cable, where they were presented with a fine flag made by the ladies of Albany, accompanied with a very eloquent and appropriate address from the reverend gentleman. T. J. Ferguson acknowledged the gift, on behalf of the company, in an able speech, which we would be happy to print had we room for it.

LETTER FROM REV. J. SELLA MARTIN.

Boston, May 9th, 1861.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I arise from the perusal of your last *Monthly* with feelings that I cannot repress. I have re-read the three leading articles from your pen, and I have concluded that they are among, if not the ablest articles that you ever wrote; and strange to say, or rather paradoxical as it may seem, it is this very conclusion that gives me pain, and that dictates the outburst of feeling that seeks relief in this letter. Why can't we have the daily, rather than the monthly utterances of FREDERICK DOUGLASS? To me it is a desolating thought that there is as little preparation on our part to enjoy, as there is a disposition on the part of the whites to confer our rights. With the present condition of things among us, we should lose whatever we got, with as much indifference as we now submit to what we have lost.

The war seems to promise something to us; but in the name of manhood, must our hopes depend forever upon the negative influences of Providence? Must we forever gain whatever good we have from the white man's bad? We are not even alive to the promises of this war, and it does seem that in peace or war we constantly alternate between the two points of social and political paralysis—from the apathy of indifference, to the apathy of despair.

Excuse this train of feeling. I know that your keen sympathies and earnest solicitude finds enough to give pain and discouragement without such ungracious reminders from me. But I desired you to know there are a great many alive to the services which you have rendered your people, and to let you know of our sorrow that fate had been apparently so begrudging as to refuse the social and pecuniary food to such a noble mouth as we have in Rochester.

I took your paper to the *Atlas and Bee* office, and I see they have used many of your ideas in an editorial without giving credit.—So it is; the whites keep from us all they can, and then steal what we get in spite of them. Are not these Northern people the most arrant cowards, as well as the biggest fools on earth? Just think of Dimmick and Slemmer sending back the fugitives that sought protection of them. They refuse to let white men sell the Southerners food, and yet they return slaves to work on the plantation to raise all the food that the Southerners want. They arrest traitors, and yet make enemies of the colored people, North and South; and if they do force the slave to fight for his master, as the only hope of being benefited by the war, they may thank their own cowardice and prejudice for the revenge of the negro's aim and the retribution of his bullet while fighting against them in the Southern States. I received a letter from Mobile, in which the writer states that the returning of those slaves by Slemmer has made the slaves determined to fight for the South, in the hope that their masters may set them free after the war, and when remonstrated with, they say that the North will not let them fight for them. I preached in one of the richest white churches Sabbath before last, upon the war, and made this statement, and it has called forth a number of communications from the merchants and others; and the *Herald*, in a leader yesterday, asked if the North sent her Generals there for that purpose, and said it would pause for a reply.

Yours, J. SELLA MARTIN.

DOES THE BIBLE SANCTION AMERICAN SLAVERY—REPLY TO BISHOP HOPKINS, OF VERMONT.

[CONCLUDED.]

To the Editor of the Rochester Daily Union:

Another absurdity involved in this theory, is, that Noah, a *white man, with a white wife, had a black, woolly-headed, thick-lipped son!* And still another, that all slaveholders are descendants of Shem, to whom *alone* Canaan was to be a servant! And yet one more, that servant means slave! When the Bishop shall clear up all these absurdities, any one of which crushes his argument, I will admit the force of

'His successive title, long and dark,
Drawn from the mouldy rolls of Noah's ark.'

But until he does this, I cannot consent that because poor Noah got drunk, and

'Unpacked his heart with words,
And fell to cursing like a very drab—a scullion;' therefore, four millions of Africans, whose descent from the man whom Noah cursed cannot be made probable, should be held as chattels by Anglo-Saxons, whose descent from Canaan's master is still more impossible of proof!

Bishop HOPKINS quotes the fact that Abraham had three hundred and eighteen 'trained servants.' Are servants, trained to arms, slaves? Abraham was a Prince, and these trained servants constituted his standing army. They followed their Chief to battle, (see Exd. chap. 14th,) and sustained the same relation to him as did the followers of Abdel-Kader to him, until he was conquered by the French—the same relation that exists between every Arab chief and his followers to this day. They were his servants, but not his slaves. His eldest servant was his *Prime Minister*, 'and ruled over all he had,' (Gen. xxiv., 8,) 'for all the goods of his master were in his hands.' (Gen. xxiv., 10.) On him devolved the duty of choosing a wife for Isaac. (Gen. xxiv., 3.) Instead of being a chattel, a thing, Rebecca calls him 'My Lord,' (Gen. xxiv., 18,) thus showing that he was the first nobleman at Abraham's court. He was just as much a slave as Sir Robert Peel was a slave to the English Queen when Prime Minister of England. Sir Robert was the Queen's *servant*, but not her *slave*. The three hundred and eighteen trained servants were as much slaves as the soldiers in the service of the Queen, and no more.

The case of Hagar is quoted. She was first maid of honor to Sarai, who, we are told, (Gen. xvi., 3,) 'took her and gave her to her husband Abraham, to be his wife.' Her son Ishmael was Abraham's 'heir apparent' until Isaac was born, and became the father of a mighty people. Is this the treatment and destiny of chattel slaves? Read the whole account in the 16th chapter of Genesis.

The next quotation of Bishop HOPKINS is as follows: 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man servant, nor his maid servant.' (Exd. xx., 18.) This is quoted to prove that servants are property. Does not every reader see that it proves just as clearly that a man's wife is his property? and will it not be perfectly safe to leave the wives of the Bishop's flock to deal with an argument which implies that they are 'goods and chattels personal,' mere baggage, and held to their

husbands by the same tenure that a Carolinian holds his negro wench?

The next quotation made by the learned Bishop is the passage where the Hebrews are instructed as to the source from which they shall procure servants. I desire the reader to remember that our version of the Bible was translated just in the height of the slave trade by England, which was very profitable to James, by whose orders the translation was made; and if it was possible for the translators of the King to sustain that trade, even by straining a point, it would be done. Dr. Roy, author of 'Roy's Hebrew and English Dictionary,' says that it was done in translating this passage. I give the passage as in our version, and also as translated by Dr. Roy, verse by verse, in parallel columns:

Our Version.

44. Both thy bond-men and thy bond-maids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen which are round about you. Of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids.

45. Moreover, of the children of strangers that sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy and of their families that are with you which they begat in your land, and they shall be your possession.

46. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you to inherit them for a possession. They shall be your bond-men forever.

Roy's Literal Translation.

44. And thy man-servant, and thy woman-servant shall be to thee from among the Gentiles which are round about you. From them shall ye procure a man-servant and a woman-servant.

45. And also of the children of foreigners that reside with you from them ye may procure of their families which are with them that are born in your land. They shall be to you for a possession (service.)

46. And ye shall choose them for your children after you to preside over them as their portion unto the end of the time (specified.)

The reader will perceive that the translation of Dr. Roy cleanses this passage from every vestige of slavery. The words 'buy,' 'bond-men,' and 'forever,' were smuggled into the passage on purpose to sustain the slave trade. Dr. Roy stakes his reputation as a lexicographer on the literal correctness of this translation, and he says in a letter to a friend:

'There is no (Hebrew) word in the Bible for *slave*; *aved* is the only word to be found there, and means hired man, servant, laborer, soldier, minister, magistrate, messenger, angel, prophet, priest, king, and Christ himself;—(Isaiah lii., 13;) but it *never means slave for life*.

'1st. The contract (between master and servant) must be mutual and voluntary.

'2d. It was conditional that the servant should, within one year, become a proselyte to the Jewish religion; if not, he was to be discharged.

'3d. If he became such, he was to be governed by the same law, to eat at the same table, sup out of the same dish, and eat the same Passover with his master.

'4th. The law allowed him to marry his master's daughter.'

And I will add to this clear testimony of Dr. Roy, that if he escaped because ill treated, every Jew was positively forbidden to return him, (Deut. xxiii., 15, 16,) and every forty-nine years all servants were set free positively and forever, (Lev. xxv., 10,) thus proving beyond all question that Mosaic servitude was voluntary.

But taking the above passage just as it stands, and it can readily be explained on the side of freedom, by showing that the word 'buy' meant in Bible usage to hire or lease for a term of years. The same word is used in speaking of the Hebrew servant who was only bought or hired until the jubilee which occurred once in seven years; and if he be-

came a servant in the sixth year, he went free the seventh. The Gentile servants all went free in the fiftieth year, and all their families. This was the *naturalization* law of the Mosaic code, and adopted as a safeguard against the danger that the heathen would corrupt their institutions. Real estate could not be bought or, as we should call it, leased for more than forty-nine years. The families who first settled the land divided every rood of soil among them, and this law kept it in their hands. None but their descendants could own land in Judea. It was only by becoming a servant, therefore, that a Gentile could become a Jew. His servitude was his probation, and at the fiftieth year he and his family became full citizens. This was the sole mode of introduction into the church, and was designed as a grand system of proselytism.

But to quote the proof and make this argument full and clear, would require more room than I can ask for in the columns of this journal, and so I have adopted the shorter method of extracting the fangs with which a pro-slavery translation has attempted to arm this passage. But if it were true that the Old Testament did sanction slavery four thousand years ago among the Jews, it does by no means follow that it sanctions slavery *now* among the Americans. It sanctioned burnt offerings then—are they, therefore, binding now? It sanctioned the indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, babes, and cattle, taken in war. Is such wholesale murder divine now? Because Samuel hewed Agag in pieces *then*, ought Bishop HOPKINS to have hewed Santa Anna into mince meat, if he had been taken prisoner in the Mexican war? Because a Hebrew churchman might have half a dozen wives *then*, may an American elder have a dozen *now*? The Bishop might reply, if God commanded all these things to be done *now*, we must obey. Admit it, (although it is akin to blasphemy to suppose that God could utter such commands;) can he show where God commanded Virginians to enslave Africans in 1861? If not, does the fact (even if that fact were not a gigantic falsehood) that he permitted Jews four thousand years ago to enslave Canaanites, prove that he commanded Georgians four thousand years afterwards to enslave Mandingoes? Slavery must rest upon *positive* and literal command, in which the persons to be enslaved, and the persons to enslave them must be 'nominated in the bond,' or else it must fall under universal execration.

The Bishop, in examining the New Testament on slavery, says that our Savior '*did not allude to it at all*.' Let us quote his words and see: 'The spirit of the Lord is upon me to preach the gospel (good news) to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach DELIVERANCE TO THE CAPTIVE, and the recovering of sight to the blind, to set at LIBERTY THOSE THAT ARE BRUISED, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.' (Luke iv., 18, 19.) This is the Savior's own statement, that it is the very purpose of his preaching to deliver the captive from *all* forms of bondage, and to set all men at liberty. It covers the whole ground. He denounces the Pharisees for 'binding heavy burdens on men's shoulders.' He tells his followers to 'call no man master,' and in the golden rule cuts up slavery 'root and branch' by commanding Bishop HOPKINS

and every body else never to hold a slave until willing to become slaves themselves, thus laying down general principles of conduct which have every where swept slavery out of existence in proportion as they have been carried out. Christ did not, in express words, condemn the Roman gladiatorial combats, or Pagan worship, or piratical wars. Were all these, therefore, innocent? He did lay down general principles which condemned all these, and left his followers to see that these principles were carried out.

He says that Paul exhorted servants to be obedient to their masters. This is true, right and fitting; but when he assumes that Paul meant slaves, he sets up his authority as a translator above King James' Commissioners, and all the authority above quoted, again begging the whole question. He seems to forget that the same Paul said to servants, 'if thou mayest be free, use it rather,' thus exhorting all servants to be obedient while their condition was inevitable, but to gain their freedom the first opportunity. The same Paul exhorted masters to give unto their servants what was 'just and equal,' and to 'forbear threatening,' even to say nothing of actual whipping, and tells them that in heaven all such distinctions shall be abolished, thus showing that they are wrong on earth.

The only remaining quotation is the case of Onesimus and Philemon. Turn now to the passage and read it, and you will see that

1. Onesimus is nowhere called a servant, much less a slave.

2. He is called brother to Philemon, both in the FLESH and in the Lord.

3. That he owed Philemon, and was probably working out the debt when he ran away, and Paul assumed the debt. How can a slave owe anything?

4. That he (Philemon) was to receive him just as he would Paul, who was a free man and an apostle.

Thus showing him to have been a younger brother, under the guardianship of Philemon, at work to pay a debt, probably for his education, who had run away, and Paul sent him back, telling Philemon to forgive him the debt, and receive him as a brother, and not as a servant. This is absolutely all there is of the case of Onesimus! Read it carefully and see. (Philemon, 2d chapter.) Even if he had been a slave, Paul's letter commanded him to set him free, and 'receive him,' not as a servant, but as a brother beloved. This letter to Philemon, on the assumption that Onesimus was a slave, was simply an apostolic command to Philemon to make out his free papers immediately, and no longer treat him as a servant.

There are some general observations in the Bishop's letter to which I must reply very briefly. He says: 'No blasphemy can be more unpardonable than that which imputes sin, or moral evil, to the eternal Judge who is alone perfect in wisdom, in knowledge, and in love.'

This is true, and I add, that the form of blasphemy which overtowers all others in its enormity, is an attempt to so twist God's word so as to prove him the most gigantic slave-trader and man-stealer of the universe, commending a crime at which humanity shudders with horror, and sanctioning the plundering of the weak by the strong, and the plunging of millions of innocent victims into the bloody

maw of American slavery? In the light of this terrible fact, what could I say to the member of my own congregation, who has just called to return the paper containing this letter of Bishop HOPKINS, when he said to me, 'if I believed the doctrine of that letter to be sanctioned by the Bible, I should be compelled to be an infidel?' I dare not put this letter in the hands of my boy, without showing up its fallacies, for fear it should make him hate God and the Bible. God inscribed a hatred of slavery and a love of liberty on the tablet of his young heart, and I dare not subject his mind to the inexpressible shock of being convinced that God is the most terrible oppressor in the universe!

The Bishop tells us that if it were a matter to be determined by 'personal sympathies,' tastes or feelings, he should be as ready as any man to condemn slavery. Here, then, is a wrong so monstrous that his feelings, tastes and sympathies are all against it; but he strains all his learning, and breaks all common rules of logic, and overdraws many a dim and far-fetched inference to prove that God sanctioned this crime at which He shudders! Is this reverence for God? Is it complimentary to the Bible to attempt to prove that it sustains a system so cruel that it outrages our sympathies and strikes our feelings with abhorrence? Just in proportion as the Bishop succeeds in such an argument, he arrays all kindly sympathies and all humane feelings against the divine inspiration of the Bible.—When Shakspeare asks—

—'In religion,
What damned error, but some sober brow
Will bless it, and approve it with a text?'

he reveals a process by which the Bible has been brought into disrepute far more rapidly than by all the assaults of infidels upon its truth. He who vindicates the Bible against the charge of supporting 'the sum of all villainies,' does not 'trample on the doctrine of the Bible,' but does rescue it from under the feet of slaveholders.

I lack space to reply to the Bishop's general charge of unfaithfulness to their vows and calling, which he makes against all ministers who do not preach up the divine character of American slavery, and so will quote, as the best condensed answer, a New England poet, who exclaims:

'Just God! and these are they
Who minister at their altar, God of Right!
Men who their hands with prayer and blessing
On Israel's ark of light. [lay

'What! preach and kidnap men?
Give thanks and rob thine own afflicted poor?
Talk of thy glorious liberty, and then
Bolt hard the captive's door.'

The want of space for this letter must be my apology for its plain, blunt style. The subject is one which calls for a volume, rather than a single letter for a daily paper, and I could but give the skeleton of my argument in a form so condensed as to forbid any other than a cramped style of rhetoric.

ABRAM PRYNE.

WILLIAMSON, N. Y., May, 1861.

—That great and good man, Gerrit Smith, has donated \$10,000 to aid in providing for the families of volunteers while in the service of their country. He also recently gave \$200 for the benefit of those fugitives who were forced to leave Chicago for fear of being sent back to slavery.

—There are nearly two hundred runaway slaves in Fort Monroe, held by Gen. Butler.

RULE SLAVEOWNIA.

THE NATIONAL HYMN OF THE CONFEDERATED STATES.

(Music Copyright in America.)

When first the South, to fury fanned,
Arose and broke the Union's chain,
There was the Charter, the Charter of the land,
And Mr. Davis sang the strain:
Rule Slaveownia, Slaveownia rules, and raves
Christians ever, ever, ever have had slaves.'

The Northerners, not so blest as thee,
At ABY LINCOLN's foot may fall.
While thou shalt flourish, shalt flourish fierce
and free
The whip that makes the Nigger bawl.
Rule Slaveownia, Slaveownia rules, and raves
Christians ever, ever, ever should have slaves.'

Thou, dully savage, shalt despise
Each freeman's argument, or joke:
Each law that Congress, that Congress tho't
so wise,
Serves but to light thy pipes for smoke.
Rule Slaveownia, Slaveownia rules, and raves
Christians ever, ever, ever must have slaves.'

And Trade, that knows no God but gold,
Shall to thy pirate ports repair:
Blest land, where flesh—where human flesh is
sold,

And manly arms may flog that air.
Rule Slaveownia, Slaveownia rules, and raves
Christians ever, ever, ever shall have slaves.'

—[London Punch.

IMPORTANT TO THOSE WHO PURPOSE EMIGRATING.

EDGERTON, Williams County, Ohio, }
April 1, 1861.

MR. EDITOR:—Kansas has her drouths.—Missouri may secede; but here is a new country in Ohio.

Previous to building the Air Line Railroad, Williams Co., Ohio, has been almost an inaccessible island to the stream of emigration pouring westward. But this road recently completed from Toledo to Chicago, is working wonders in transforming our population.—Look at this county five years ago. But few buildings were to be seen save the rude structures of logs. Now good houses and barns are taking their places very rapidly. Then it cost almost the price of grain to transport it to market. Now eastern men buy our grain at home. Then our population was largely composed of that class of society who fill up most new countries, and are always ready for a change when they can improve their temporal circumstances. Some of these are here yet, and waiting for an opportunity to emigrate. Eastern people are coming in large numbers, but yet there is abundant room.—Land of good quality near the railroad rates from \$10 to \$20 per acre. During the last five years it doubled in price, and will, no doubt, double in price every five years for some time to come. The soil is excellent for wheat and corn, fifty bushels an acre being the average. It is well watered for stock; by boring thirty to sixty-three feet we secure fountain wells of excellent water; owing to the great number of these wells in Bryan, our county seat, it is called the 'Fountain City.' We have good schools, and our church privileges are abundant. The writer preaches at two points thirteen miles apart, and on his route passes six houses of worship. In point of health, we think we have the advantage of the older parts of Ohio.

Now, farmers and mechanics, if you are religious men, or good and true men, interested in building up society, come along! for there is room enough, and you will receive a welcome by a generous people. But if neither good men or religious, we shall hardly need you.

J. M. McLAIN,

Pastor of Congregational Church.

LETTERS FROM THE OLD WORLD—NO. LXXIV.

HALIFAX, (Eng.) April 27, 1861.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—Our excellent friend, Dr. Cheever's coming to Halifax was so often postponed, from various causes, that I had almost begun to doubt whether it would ever come to pass, when he appeared among us.—It was a pleasure as sincere as *rare* to shake by the hand an American minister of the Gospel of Christ, who has 'not shunned to declare the whole counsel of God,' 'in season and out of season,' at the sacrifice of his worldly prosperity and comfort, and who, at all risks, has faithfully shown up the shortcomings of the American churches, and the unfaithfulness of their silent pastors in regard to that awful sin of their land, AMERICAN SLAVERY. Dr. Cheever has been so long and so widely known in England, by his writings, that I hoped and believed there could have been a simultaneous rallying of all the Independents of our town around him; at the same time I felt convinced that the interest would not be confined to his own denomination, but that all the *thorough-going, whole-hearted* friends of the slave, would give him not only the right hand of fellowship, but all the aid in their power. How far it will be well to say I was disappointed in the *first* part of my expectations, I cannot tell. Dr. Cheever preached in the pulpit of our excellent friend, Rev. J. C. Gray, on the Sabbath morning, from the text, 'The path of the just is as the shining light, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day,' and closely riveted the attention of his audience. The morning was cold, with drizzling rain, and the congregation not as large as I could have wished. ZION CHAPEL pulpit had been secured for the evening, when the sermon upon slavery was to be preached; my own gratification that day was greatly marred by the knowledge that *for the first time* since Dr. Cheever had crossed the Atlantic, *no collection* was to be permitted at the close of the discourse, and from the conviction that the crowded congregation assembled within the walls of Zion Chapel, would have given bountifully to the cause so powerfully advocated, had boxes been *forthwith* passed round. The error, or mistake, or supineness, (or call it what we may,) was very great, and *never retrieved*; though a few of us tried our best to remedy the evil during the week. Dr. Cheever's text that evening was as appropriate as it was remarkable, and his discourse (to my thinking) was equally so. In the 4th and 5th verses of the prophet Zechariah are these striking words, 'Thus saith the Lord God: Feed the flock of the slaughter, whose possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty; and they that sell them say, Blessed be the Lord: for I am rich, and their own shepherds pity them not.' To apply this remarkable passage to American slaveholders, and those (so-called) Christian people and ministers who back them up in their system of iniquity, was easy, without any stretch of imagination on the part of Dr. Cheever.—His discourse was a *masterpiece*; the whole was so finely knitted together, that it defied dissection. Its truths were entire, and could not be refuted; so to *dislike the sermon as a whole, was all that could be done* by those whose minds have been warped by contiguity with *New York merchants*, or Southerners.—With some of these people I conversed dur-

ing the week following, and exceedingly I pitied them for wanting in *head* as well as *heart*. It had evidently escaped their memory, that the passage chosen for the *text* was not the composition of Dr. Cheever, but the word of God. The meeting on Monday evening was held in the Square School-room, (where you delivered one of your lectures;) Joseph Thorp, Esq., (a distinguished friend and philanthropist,) kindly consenting to occupy the chair. Dr. Cheever then gave a lucid exposition of the objects of Christian abolitionists in their conflicts with slavery. These, he stated, were four fold, viz:

First—the deliverance of the enslaved, in obedience to the Savior's command to '*let the oppressed go free*.'

Second—the redemption of the cross from the infamous charge of sanctioning slavery.

Third—the redemption of the children of slave parents from slavery.

Fourth—the salvation of the slaveholders themselves from the guilt and ruin of their own system.

On each of these points he dwelt at considerable length; his arguments were unanswerable, his logic sound, his statements convincing. He clearly showed how impossible it is for a man to look *impartially* at slavery where his interests are concerned. His moral sense is sure to become corrupted, and his conscience seared. To discuss 'the present aspects of slavery in America,' occupied a brief part of the address. The distinction was clearly pointed out between the abolitionists and the anti-slavery party. Dr. Cheever seemed, however, to think that the North had been '*chloroformed*' long enough, and would not submit to further compromise. He looked on the present secession as a merciful Providence—the forerunner of the destruction of slavery—urging, at the same time, *the duty of European nations not to acknowledge the Southern Confederacy*. He closed his powerful address by briefly stating the object of his mission to this country. Could you, my dear friend, have been a hearer that evening, sure I am your heart would have beat in unison with all Dr. Cheever's truthful utterances; and you would have sympathized with the burning words of eloquence that fell from his lips, in behalf of your deeply injured people.

The audience was a good one; but the *unpalatable* nature of the truths told in the previous evening's sermon kept some from going to the lecture! These complainants only said, 'They didn't like it,' and stayed away, or, 'Dr. C. went too far,' 'it was a great pity,' (and so it was!)

So many new aspects have presented themselves within the last year, concerning slavery, and so many Americans are coming over to this country, and professing to enlighten their *business* friends on this side the ocean, that people *now* seem *frightened* to commit themselves in any way on the subject, who, some time since, appeared not only interested, but ready to aid any movement made by the friends of the slave. These good people are of the *Nicodemus* kind. They *mean well*, I dare say; but their hesitancy is as pitiable as it is disastrous to the efforts made by the friends of the slave. So far as I am able to judge, I do not think the anti-slavery feeling as strong now in England as it was two or three years ago. In one sense, *all* English-

men are anti-slavery, and agree in wishing the slaves were free; but they are apt to listen to the oft-repeated tale brought across the Atlantic, about '*peculiar difficulties*' connected with the subject of emancipation, mixed up with false assurances that the Southerners would gladly free their slaves if they could, and with the old libel upon the colored people, viz.: that they are incapable of taking care of themselves, and need kind (?) masters to think and to act for them. Others, again, apparently forgetting that there were false priests and false prophets of old, who 'spoke smooth things and prophesied deceit,' to please the people, seem to imagine that if emancipation were the right thing to be carried out, all the American ministers would preach it from their pulpits. The churches being so *utterly* unsound, and unfaithful to the cause of the slave, these good folks cannot realize; they find it easier to condemn a faithful *Abdiel*, than to give heed to his solemn denunciations.

I hope and believe that our Scotch friends see more clearly on this subject, and are rendering good service to Dr. Cheever's mission. Gladly would I have him heard from every pulpit in our land; and then, methinks, a new anti-slavery baptism would result throughout the kingdom. Of course you will know that Mr. Bailey, of Kentucky, is in England? I trust he will secure the required aid. Our Society, having lately sent him a donation, we have not invited him to Halifax, fearing that at this time a meeting might not prove successful. He has our warm sympathy in his self-sacrificing undertaking. There are now so many lecturers traversing the country, and soliciting aid for their respective objects, that it is desirable all friends of the slave should make due inquiries as to *who* and *what* it is they are assisting. The singular man I named to you some time since, from the Western territory, whose hatred of you is most intense, is carrying on his alleged determination to '*injure you as much as possible*, wherever he goes.' You know *far* better than I whether it will be well for you to notice his attacks. You have in times past survived many violent attacks made by false friends, as well as malignant enemies, and I do not doubt your surviving the present one, made by a man '*off whose roof* (some of his friends say) *there is a slate*.' The alleged object of his mission is to re-imburse himself for losses sustained in the United States from his fidelity to the cause of the slave, and to secure assistance for the future. He seems a kind of Ishmaelite; his tongue is against every man; no *Balm of Gilead* falls from his lips; but he plentifully distils wormwood and gall, and is never likely to do good, either to himself or any one else. I again repeat, that I trust the anti-slavery friends will make inquiries before they give aid to any person who presents himself, recommended by himself! There are so many important objects needing aid, and calling for aid, in connection with anti-slavery, that it is a pity a single pound should be thrown away.

Our friend, Mr. Day, is extremely active and energetic, and I hope successful. We hear from him, with interest, from time to time. Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Troy are still at work, and deserve success.

If our friend Loguen has the least thought of coming over to England, I earnestly advise him to *postpone* his visit. There is a count-

less number of people (whose names I do not know) going up and down the country and collecting money for the cause; and truth to say, the friends are rather wearied with the continual importunities they receive. A little cessation would be desirable. I am not speaking for myself, but for 'the public,' to whom the appeals have generally to be made.

Your review of the President's 'Inaugural Address' I consider a masterpiece, and so do others, better judges than I. Dr. Cheever wishes it could be copied into a number of our journals. So rapid are the changes in the phase presented by slavery at this time, that we scarcely know where we are, or what we have to *hope*, or to *fear*, in regard to the future. The news has just come to us that the looked-for war has broken out; but it is said the telegraphic wires are in the hands of the secessionists, and we are warned not to believe all we hear. We cannot even pray, 'God defend the *right*,' for with such a cowardly North there is little '*right*;' but may that God who delivered the children of Israel out of their Egyptian bondage, open a way for the Southern victims to escape from their worse than Egyptian taskmasters!—God reigns, and reigns in righteousness, and will, in His own time, deliver the oppressed slave. He is never the God of the *oppressor*. He is my constant, my *only Hope*, when striving to solve the complicated problem of American slavery, and seeing the extraordinary changes that have taken place of late in the aspect of affairs. I dare not allow myself to enter on the vast subject. I need scarcely say we eagerly watch for American news, and speculate *what next?*

That God may sustain you and all those who are faithfully laboring for the deliverance of their brethren from bondage, is the sincere prayer of

Your ever true friend,
JULIA G. CROFTS.

P. S. The most important part of a letter is sometimes said to be left to the postscript. It may be so in the present instance, when I earnestly express the hope that our Government will never see fit to recognize the piratical Southern Confederacy. Some of the A. S. Societies have been moving and adopting memorials on the subject.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS ON THE CRISIS.

The *Express* of this city contains the following synopsis of two lectures delivered by Mr. Douglass in Zion's Church, on two successive Sundays, April 27th and May 4th:

SUNDAY, APRIL 27.

We meet here again after another week of deep, intense, heartfelt, wide-spread and thrilling excitement. I have never spent days so restless and anxious. Our mornings and evenings have continually oscillated between the dim light of hope, and the gloomy shadow of despair. We have opened our papers, new and damp from the press, tremblingly, lest the first line of the lightning should tell us that our National Capital has fallen into the hands of the traitors and murderers who have bound themselves as with an oath to break up our National Government.

The thing you and I want, most of all, to know, concerning this mighty strife, is yet far from us. We cannot see the end from the beginning. Our profoundest calculations may prove erroneous, our best hopes disappointed, and our worst fears confirmed. We live but to-day, and the measureless shores of the future are wisely hid from us. And yet we read the face of the sky, and may discern the signs

of the times. We know that clouds and darkness, and the sounds of distant thunder mean rain. So, too, may we observe the fleecy drapery of the moral sky, and draw conclusions as to what may come upon us. There is a general feeling amongst us, that the control of events has been taken out of our hands, that we have fallen into the mighty current of eternal principles—invisible forces, which are shaping and fashioning events as they wish, using us only as instruments to work out their own results in our National destiny.

I cannot claim to speak on this great movement of the great North, as one of the privileged class of the American people. I take my place cheerfully, with the enslaved and proscribed in the land, and from their humble and lowly position, I wish to view the events now transpiring, and rightly interpret their significance as affecting the oppressed and enslaved.

Nevertheless, I am not indifferent, but profoundly solicitous for the character, growth and destiny of this American Republic, which but for slavery, would be the best governed country in the world. While, therefore, I may speak as a man, and view the great subject which now comes before us, as one of the oppressed, I can also speak as an American.—All that I have and am, are bound up with the destiny of this country. When she is successful, I rejoice; when she is prosperous, I am happy; and when she is afflicted, I mourn with her as sincerely as any other citizen, for though not yet taken into full communion with her, I still feel that she is my country, and that I must fall or flourish with her.—But what of this war? What does it mean? And what results will it finally arrive at?

We all know what the rebels and traitors mean. They mean the perpetuity, and supremacy of slavery. They mean that the slave power shall control and administer the American government now and forever, or else that that government shall be destroyed, and that another shall be put in its place, of which slaveholders shall have absolute control; they mean, in a word, to have Washington, and to drive the present government away.

Once in possession of the machinery of the Federal Government they would place their iron yoke upon the necks of freemen, and make the system of Slavery the great and all commanding interest of the whole country. With their success the historian may record the decline and fall of American Liberty and Civilization, the banishment and proscription of free speech and a free press, and the domination of a proud, selfish, cruel and semi-barbarous oligarchy, whose arguments are bowie-knives, slung-shot and revolvers.

It is this purpose that animates all their movements. The war on their part is for a government in which Slavery shall be National, and freedom no where, in which the capitalist shall own the laborer; and the white non-slaveholder a degraded man, to be classed, as such men are now classed all over the South, as 'poor white trash.'

But what does the war mean to the North? This inquiry is far more important than any concerning the South, for the South can do nothing without the great North shall see fit to let her. I look upon the war as in the hands of the North. It shall be made short or long, important or insignificant, as they shall and will determine.

There are many conflicting theories of the end had in view of this war. To some it means the complete dissolution of the American Union, the absolute and final separation of the slaveholding States from the non-slaveholding States; a division of the national property, and an acknowledgment of the independence of the governments of the respective sections. To others it means simply the suppression of rebellion, and the establishment of things precisely as they were before the election of Mr. Lincoln, without any alteration of a single principle or inference of the old Union. To still another class, it means a National Convention, which shall reconstruct the Union upon a basis which shall remove the objections which the slaveholders have raised against the present one. While others

see, or think they see, in it the complete humiliation of the slaveholders, and the abolition of slavery, and a strong Federal Government which will make successful resistance to its authority and power, useless if not improbable.

The complete dissolution of the Union will depend upon the will and ability of the Government, and of the North that sustains it against the traitors and rebels of the South, who have attempted its destruction. It would be a most lame and impotent conclusion, after expending millions of treasure and rivers of blood, for the North to consent to a dissolution of the Union. Such a conclusion would be giving up the point contended for in the war, and would be a triumph of the South.—It would brand the war as a useless and worthless war, and draw after it all the evils that the war was intended to avert and prevent. There are great natural as well as moral objections to such a termination of the conflict, which make it quite improbable.

All natural relations conspire to make the United States one country, under one government, and one general code of laws. Nature seems to have frowned upon separation, welded the sections together so strongly as to defy permanent separation to the people who inhabit it. To the mighty rivers and fertile fields that bind it together, civilization, commerce and science have flung over it a network of iron, making the sections one and undivisible. The great Mississippi river, father of waters, would look ill indeed in the possession of two rival nations. Dissolution is not a solution of our present troubles.

The speaker proceeded to show that the only settlement that can be made will be by the destruction of the cause which has produced the difficulty—Slavery. True, the Government seems not to be doing anything to bring about this result directly; but things are working. If the Government is not yet on the side of the oppressed, events mightier than the Government are bringing about that result.

He had been asked, 'What are you colored men going to do?' He answered, let a few colored regiments go down South, and assist in setting their brothers free, and they could and would do this work effectively for our Government. He was ready to go; but this did not imply much courage, for he knew he would not be accepted. The South are wiser in their generation than the North. Black people are being made soldiers of at Montgomery. They piled the sand-bags and raised the batteries which drove Major Anderson from Sumter; but you Northerners are too aristocratic to march by the side of a 'nigger.' But the time may yet come when the President shall proclaim liberty through all the land. The speaker argued that the Constitution granted this power to Congress.—That great statesman, John Quincy Adams, once told the chivalry to their faces that the power to set the slaves at liberty was clearly implied in the war-making power. There can be no peace or unity in this country while slavery exists. Slavery is an enemy to free speech. It struck down Charles Sumner, and stained the floor of the Senate Chamber with his blood. The language of slavery is and always must be, 'put out the light.' The slaveholders know their vile institution will not bear discussion. All nature is opposed to slavery. The broad sunlight, the free roving winds, the blue o'erarching sky, and ocean's bounding billows, were all eloquent against the enslavement of man by his fellow man.

Mr. Douglass closed by referring to the sterling patriotism shown by the volunteers in rushing to arms at their country's call. He received hearty and frequent applause.

SUNDAY, MAY 4.

I propose again to throw out a few thoughts on the great crisis through which the country is now passing. On many accounts it would be pleasant to me to vary the character of these Sunday afternoon lectures; but I find it impossible to do so at present. Like the rod of Moses which swallowed up all the petty creations of the East-

ern magicians, the awful and sublime crisis in our national affairs, swallows up all other subjects. I must either speak of that which engages all minds and fills all hearts at this moment, or speak as one who beateth the air. The solemn departure of the troops from this city only a few days ago, composed of the sons, brothers, husbands and fathers of some, perhaps, of those who hear me, is fitted to bring this subject before us more impressively than anything else. That departure was a thrilling spectacle. I witnessed it with feelings that I cannot describe. And as I saw the tears, and heard the mournful sobs of mothers, as they parted from their sons;—wives, as they parted from their husbands;—sisters, as they parted from their brothers, my very soul said in the depths of its bitterness, let slavery, the guilty cause of all this sorrow and sighing, be accursed and destroyed forever—and so I say to-day.

For all the woes of this terrible civil war, we have to thank the foul slave system.—Treason, rebellion, and every abomination, spring out of its pestilential atmosphere, like weeds from a dunghill, and but for the existence of slavery, this country would to-day be enjoying all the blessings of peace and security, and the hearts of your wives and daughters would not be tossed with the bitter anguish which now rends them. I wish the cause of your national troubles, which has thus snatched your own flesh and blood from you to be exposed to all the dangers, horrors and hardships of civil war, to be constantly borne in mind.

It is not the sturdy farmer of the West, who tills his broad acres with his own hard but honest hands, who eats his bread in the sweat of his own honest brow, that has plotted and conspired for the overthrow of this Government. It is not the skillful mechanic of New England, who by his daily toil supports his wife and children by his skill and industry, that has risen against the peace and safety of the Republic. It is not the hardy laborer of the North, nor of the South, who has treacherously conceived this hell-black conspiracy to destroy the Government and the liberties of the American people. No! Oh, no! We owe our present calamity to the existence among us of a privileged class, who are permitted to live by stealing. We owe it to the existence of a set of respectable robbers and murderers, who work their fellow men like beasts of burden, and keep back their wages by fraud.

It was once a favorite maxim of Daniel O'Connell, 'that England's extremity was Ireland's opportunity.' Another proverb, somewhat trite, is, that when 'rogues fall out, honest men get their rights.' To both sayings; there have been many exceptions, and there will be many more.

The Irish people could never be brought to adopt or to act upon O'Connell's maxim, and there have been many quarrels among dishonest men, which have only ended in further compacts and combinations of dishonesty.—One thing, however, I think we may all venture to assert, the present war between slaveholding traitors and the legitimate American Government, affords much rational ground for the hope of the abolition of slavery.

A favorite maxim among the slaveholders a few years ago, was that revolutions never go backward. They quote this saying with enthusiastic exultation. No doubt while doing so, the stately halls of Washington flit before them, and they see in the not distant future, Jeff. Davis and his brother traitors, the masters of the great American Government, and enjoying all the luxury, grandeur and magnificence of the national capital.

This weapon is two-edged. It cuts both ways. It is as good for one section, as for the other. If revolutions never go backward, they are of course as likely to go forward in one section as the other—in the North, as in the South. The slaveholders have resolved to battle for slavery, and the people of the Free States will yet come forth to battle for freedom. The end is clearly fore-shadowed.

'Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Tho' baffled oft, is ever won.'

At present, as all know, the North only strikes for Government, as against anarchy.—She strikes only for loyalty, as against treason and rebellion. The slaveholders strike for absolute independence, and total separation.—The North strikes for the absolute supremacy of the Constitution, the Union, and the laws. Her loyal sons have buckled on their armor, with the full determination that not one of the thirty-four stars shall fall from the blue ground of our national flag.

But this is, after all, but the surface of this war. It will, and must, if continued, take on a broader margin. The law of its life is growth. The rallying cry of the North now is, 'Down with treason, down with secession, down with rebellion.' And until this trio of social monsters are completely crushed out, the war is not to cease. Herein is my hope for the slave. The war cannot cease; the battle must go on. The Government must die in the first century of its existence, or it must now strike a blow which shall set it in safety for centuries to come. For let this rebellion be subdued, let the chief conspirators and traitors be hanged, or made to flee the country, let the Government, in this instance, fully assert its power, and the lesson will last for ages.

It was said that the first gun fired at Bunker Hill was heard round the world. The first gun which was fired upon Sumter, will be heard ringing through the dome of a thousand years, as a warning to rebels and traitors. It is not more true that this irrepressible conflict must go on, until one of the parties to it is ground to powder, than it is, that the elements that enter into it will widen and deepen the longer it lasts.

What would have been gladly accepted by the Government at Washington, one little month ago, would be rejected with scorn to-day; and what might possibly be accepted to-day, will a few weeks hence be looked upon as a mockery and insult.

Already, there is a visible change in the bearing of the Government at Washington.—Two weeks ago, they asked Baltimore to graciously grant permission to American soldiers to pass through her streets to defend and protect the American capital. Now they take possession, not only of Baltimore, and subject her to a rigorous blockade, but take possession of any and every part of the State, they have any use for. Two weeks ago, the President was concerned for the safety of his soldiers. It will not be long before he will be concerned for the safety of the now persecuted loyal men and women in the State of Maryland. The President will, by and bye, see that the United States Congress gives him the right, and makes it his duty to take care that none are deprived of life or liberty, without due process of law; and that the citizens of each State shall enjoy all the rights and immunities of citizens of the several States. The first proclamation of Mr. Lincoln was received with derision at the South. It is said that the cabinet of Jeff. Davis read it amid roars of laughter. They were intoxicated with their victory at Charleston. 'Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad.'

Nero fiddled while Rome was on fire, and men have danced over the jaws of an earthquake. But those who have been merry in the morning have wept and howled in the evening.

The conflict can never be reduced to narrower limits than now, by either party. It can be extended, and probably will be extended, but it cannot be limited. Neither party can limit the issues involved in it. They would not if they could, and they could not if they would. The only thing that could have prevented or postponed this mighty conflict was compromise. But now this has entirely vanished from the field of possibilities, and the work must go on. The leaders of secession first asked the right of States to secede—to go out in peace; next it seized and appropriated arsenals; next it sent traitorous emissaries to corrupt the loyal States, and to or-

ganize treason within their borders; next it fired on the American flag; next it rained balls and bombshells upon Sumter; next it collected an army to capture all the national defences within one section of the Confederacy; and next it marched its army for the destruction of the National Capital.

It will go on. It cannot stop. It has at last got on the much coveted seven mile boots. It is in the nature of the thing to go on. One success begets another. Once on the outer circle of the whirlpool, you are sure of being drawn in due time to the centre. The slaveholding rebels can stop their war upon the Government only when their men and money have gone. They must be starved out, broken down, overpowered, and totally exhausted, before they can consent, after their high sounding threat, to sue for peace.

I am quite free to say, aside from any direct influence this war is to have towards liberating my enslaved fellow countrymen, I should regret the sudden and peaceful termination of this conflict. The mission of the revolution would be a failure were it to stop now. It would, in that case, only have lived long enough to do harm, and not long enough to do any good.

One most important element on this war, on the part of the North, is to teach the South a lesson which it has been slow to learn. The people of the North have long borne a bad reputation at the South. They have borne the reputation of being mean spirited and cowardly. All the bravery and manliness has been monopolized by the South. This is one of the many evils arising out of the connection with slavery. In all our wars the North has furnished the men and the money, and the South has furnished the officers, and have, therefore, received the largest measure of the glory. Now, I take it that no people are safe from attack who bear such a reputation as we have borne in the Southern States. No people can be long respected who bear any such reputation. A reputation for cowardice is a constant invitation to abuse and insult. He is always whipped oftenest who is whipped easiest. The coward may be pitied and protected by the magnanimous and brave, but there will always be mean men, and even cowards themselves, who will abuse and insult those whom they can abuse and insult with impunity.

We of the North may have learning, industry and wealth without end, with every other advantage; but so long as we are considered as destitute of manly courage, as too indifferent to defend ourselves, or freedom and our country, we shall be the victims of insult and outrage, whenever we venture among the rapacious and ferocious slave-drivers of the South.

Now, instead of looking upon the present war as an unmitigated evil, you and I, and all of us, ought to welcome it as a glorious opportunity for imparting wholesome lessons to the Southern soul-drivers. The first of these lessons is to demonstrate before all, and especially before the people of the South, that they have been entirely and most dangerously deceived. We have got to show them that they have mistaken our forbearance for cowardice, and our love of peace, only for a selfish love of ease, and unwillingness to suffer for an idea, or a principle. The only condition upon which we can reasonably hope to live with them in peace and goodfellowship hereafter, is that we entirely undeceive them at this very important point. They have need of the lesson as well as ourselves. We need it that we may have our rights respected and secure. They need it to make them respectful of the rights of Northern men. The case is a plain one. The slaveholding rebels tell us to our teeth, that they do not love us. They acknowledge a feeling of infernal animosity towards all men who hate slavery.—All our past efforts to make them love us have proved abortive, and all such are likely to prove so in the future.

Now, the next best thing, if we cannot make them love us, is to make them fear us. The opportunity for doing this is providential,

and we should embrace it with a determination to make the best of it. The doctrine of submission to justice has its limits, and those limits have been fully reached. What I have been now saying applies with even more force to the man of sable hue. We have been everywhere despised as cowards, as wanting a manly spirit, as tamely submitting to the condition of slavery. A time is at hand, I trust, when this reproach will be wiped out. If this conflict shall expand to the grand dimensions which events seem to indicate, the iron arm of the black man may be called into service.

GERRIT SMITH ON THE REBELLION.

The following is an extract from a speech delivered by Hon. GERRIT SMITH at a meeting held in Peterboro', April 27 :

We are assembled, my neighbors, not as Republicans, nor Democrats, nor Abolitionists—but as Americans. And we are assembled to say that we are all on the side of the Government; and that it must be upheld at whatever expense to friend or foe.

As I am a peace man and have often spoken against war, some persons may think it improper in me to take part in a war meeting. But I have never spoken against putting down traitors. It is true, too, that I am too old to fight; and that I am so ignorant of arms as not to know how to load a gun; and that my horror of bloodshed is so great that, were I a slave, I should probably choose to live and die one rather than kill my master. All this is true. Nevertheless I may be of some service in the present crisis. I can along with others care for the families of my brave and patriotic neighbors, who go forth to peril their lives for their country. Let this be my work. It falls in not with my principles only, but also with my habits of feeling and acting.

The end of American Slavery is at hand.—That it is to be in blood does not surprise me. For fifteen years I have been constantly predicting that it would be. From my desk in Congress I repeated the prediction; and said that this bloody end 'would be such a reckoning for deep and damning wrongs—such an outbursting of smothered and pent-up revenge as living man has never seen.' But I had no party, no press, no influence; and I was a Cassandra whose predictions no one would listen to.

Pardon the immodesty of another personal reference. Immediately after the last Presidential election we all saw that the South was hurrying on this bloody end of Slavery. The discourse I then delivered, and which was printed in the *Tribune*, says: 'It is even probable that the Slave States will secede—a part now, and nearly all the remainder soon. This will not be because of the election of Lincoln. That is at the most an occasion or pretext for secession. Nor will this be because it has long been resolved on. There is something, but not so much, in that. It will be because their "iniquity is full," and the time for their destruction at hand.'

Why did I believe that nearly all the Slave States would secede? Did I forget that their Non-Slaveholding whites greatly outnumber the slaveholders? I did not. But I remembered how controlling is the slaveholding power by reason of its concentration and intelligence. It resides in comparatively few hands, and not only are the slaveholders the educated class, but the other whites are almost as illiterate and ignorant as the blacks. It is because of this concentration and intelligence that I have all along feared that scarcely one Slave State would remain with us.

Alas, what a sorrow, what a shame, what a sin, that the North did not long ago peaceably abolish the whole system of American Slavery by political action! It is now left to her angry and revengeful passions to do what she had not virtue enough to do. Those passions will do it.

Slavery is war—constant as well as most cruel. Hence I call it a war—incessant, in famous, infernal war—which the Northern whites have, in league with the Southern

whites, been waging for more than half a century against the blacks of the whole country. This war the whites of the North were willing to have prolonged—aye, and were willing to adopt new measures for prolonging it. But now that Slavery has struck at themselves, they are not only disposed to forbear warring upon the blacks, but very soon they will, under greater exasperations, be disposed to make common cause with them against the Southern whites. A few more outrages at the hands of the 'plug-ugly' mob which rules miserable Maryland, and our intellectual and eloquent Secretary will no longer think rhetorical twattle to be the very best language in which to answer the silly and impudent propositions of her poor, feeble, vacillating Governor. A few more such outrages will stiffen up our President into the downright refusal to hold any further parley with traitors, or give them any more comforting assurances of the limited services which he intends for his troops. We have strong men to wield the Government. Chase is a giant. And we shall soon see that they are as determined as they are strong.

In such times as these we grow fast. Only a fortnight ago, the *N. Y. Times* said:—'We have nothing to do in this contest with Slavery or slaves.' Then it would not allow the slave to benefit in the least by the contest. A week after, however, the *Times* was talking of the propriety of 'setting free the Southern slaves and arming them against the Southern rebels!' The truly good Democratic meeting held a few days ago in Albany sought to conciliate the traitors by saying that they did 'not seek to stir up servile insurrection.'—But the meeting would not have descended to even this disclaimer, had it been held a few weeks later, and just after some battle in which the traitors had slain hundreds of Northern fathers, brothers and sons. I said that in such times we grow fast. Who has clung so persistently, gallantly, and defiantly to the South as our Daniel S. Dickinson? Indeed, so Southern were his sympathies and attachments, that he was wont to regret that he had not been born there. Nevertheless, even he has been carried by the force of events to the side of the North. And so boundless is the zeal of this young convert, that he not only counts on 'servile war,' but with a vindictiveness altogether savage, he would 'wipe the South from the face of the earth.' Often as he had been told by the Abolitionists of the treachery of slaveholders, he never before could believe that they would dare prove so treacherous to the great Northern Democracy. And so he, in common with thousands of prominent Democrats, is in a great rage about it. Even Senator Douglas, though he still prates of his abiding and profound respect for the rights of property in man, and though his children's ownership of a Mississippi plantation places him under bonds for his good behavior toward the South, will ere long break these bonds, and cease from this prating. A few more Southern atrocities, and he, too, will openly curse slavery as the cause of them, and be eager to see it go out in blood. Let the city of Washington be captured, or let some of Jefferson Davis's pirate-ships capture some of our merchantmen, and the North will then lose no time in arming the slaves. She will do it, if her Government will not.—The British armed savages against the Americans, and the Americans armed them against the Britons. And, unless, the South shall immediately cease from her rebellion, the North will arm her slaves against her.—As sure as human nature is human nature, she will do it. Saddening as is the prospect, it will, nevertheless, be realized. When men get enraged against their fellow men, they will avail themselves of whatever help is within their reach. Especially true is this of Southern men. They go so far as to set dogs on men—aye, even the most ferocious and devouring dogs.

I have spoken of the capture of Washington as a possibility. So difficult of defense is that city in several points of view, that a few weeks ago (not so now) I could almost

have consented to the Government's withdrawing from it and going to Philadelphia or New York. An unsuitable place is it for the Capitol; and I felt compelled to say so on the floor of Congress. In no event will it be there a long time. Soon after the Pacific Railroad is built, and the Pacific States thereby permanently attached to us, the Capital will, if the nation shall be then undivided, be transferred to the West, probably to St. Louis. Should Washington then become a seat of science, and the great American University be there, her costly buildings will be put to what will probably be their best possible use.

To return from this digression—the approaching Congress will, of course, hasten to repeal the Fugitive Slave Act. Now that Slavery has broken up our nation, and made war upon us, that Act cannot be left unrepealed. Is it said that the Constitution calls for a Fugitive Slave Act? It calls for a Fugitive Servant Act—but not even that at the hands of Congress. It is due from the States only. What, however, if it did call for a Fugitive Slave Act? and that, too, at the hands of Congress? Surely, we are under no Constitutional obligations to those who are trampling on the Constitution and breaking away from the nation.

The repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act would correspond with even the present state of the public mind. THE FIRST GUN FIRED AT FORT SUMTER ANNOUNCED THE FACT THAT THE LAST FUGITIVE SLAVE HAD BEEN RETURNED.

Let us thank God that anything has occurred to save Congress from repeating its foolish and guilty talk about compromises and the reconstruction of the Government. There would have been nothing of this at the last session had not Congress been blind to the fact that the day of the destruction of Slavery had come, and that the Gulf States were therefore too infatuated to listen to any propositions of compromise and reconstruction. Those States had long before decided that the slave States, in order to save their Slavery, must insulate themselves, build up a despotism all their own, and surround themselves with a wall so thick as to be impervious, and so high as to be insurmountable, to the world's growing Anti-Slavery sentiment. Congress now sees this, and it also sees that the Border Slave States were holding in their treason only against the time when it might burst forth with the most deadly effect against the nation. What folly it was for Congress and the Peace Convention to hope for anything from the Border Slave States!

And what if, when Congress shall come together in this Extra Session, the Slave States shall all have ceased from their treason, and shall all ask that they may be suffered to go from us? Shall Congress let them go?—Certainly. But only, however, on the condition that those States shall first abolish Slavery. Congress has clearly no constitutional right to let them go on any conditions. But I believe that the people would approve the proceeding, and would be ready to confirm it in the most formal and sufficient manner. A few weeks ago, I would have consented to let the slave States go without requiring the abolition of Slavery. I would, looking to the interests of both the bond and free, have preferred this to an attempt to abolish it in blood. Nevertheless, I would have had the North sternly refuse to establish diplomatic relations with them, or even so much as recognize their nationality so long as they continued their horrible oppression. Less than this it could not have insisted on. But now, since the Southern tiger has smeared himself with our blood, we will not, if we get him in our power, let him go until we have drawn his teeth and his claws. In other words, when the South shall lie conquered before us, we will inexorably condition peace on her surrender of Slavery. The Government will not consent, and if it will the people will not, to allow it any longer existence.

It is quite enough that Slavery has in time past corrupted and disgraced us, and imposed its heavy taxes upon our industry. It is quite

enough that it has within the last year lynched, tarred and feathered, or hung hundreds of our innocent people. It is quite enough that it has now involved us in a war by which we shall lose hundreds of millions of dollars, and an innumerable wealth of lives. If we suffer it to live, it may return to torment us. Let no Northern man henceforth propose, for any reasons whatever, the sparing of Slavery.—Such nonsense, such insult, such contempt of her interests, and rights, and honor, the North will stand no longer. A traitor to her will she regard every man who shall be guilty of it. Thank God! the spirit of the North is at last aroused at this point. She is determined to kill Slavery, and she will be patient with no man who shall thrust himself between her and her victim. The sword she has drawn to defend herself against the sword of Slavery will never be sheathed until she has annihilated the one cause of her calamities. If, after all she has suffered and is now suffering from Slavery, she shall still be so spiritless, and servile, and compromising as still to let it live, then is she herself unworthy to live. The world would be infinitely better without than with her.

It will not, however, be strange, should this war continue so long, if the Slave States shall themselves ask Congress, at the approaching session, to exercise its war-power in abolishing the whole system of American Slavery. They may be driven to ask this as the only escape from the servile insurrections which shall then be upon them. That the North will yet, and speedily too, have to save the South from her own slaves, I have no doubt. Would that the President's Anti-Slavery training had been so thorough that he could now see Slavery to be the pre-eminent piracy, and therefore the pre-eminent outlaw! Would that he could now see it to have but just one right—the right of the wolf caught in the sheep-fold—the right to be killed. Then he would not delay to set all the slaves free by Proclamation.

But it may be said that although we should require the Slave States to abolish Slavery, yet, if we should let them set up an independent nation, they would re-establish Slavery.—Have no fear of that. They would not be disposed to do it. All their interests, as well as their recent horrors, would forbid it. The cotton manufacturers of Europe will no longer rely on our country for cotton. This mad outbreak of the South makes it indispensable for them to discontinue this precarious and odious dependence as soon as possible. In a very few years they will be abundantly supplied from other sources, where labor is much cheaper than is slave labor, and where nature is much more favorable than in any part of our land to the growth of cotton. Indeed it is not probable that either cotton or cane sugar will after a little time, be produced extensively in our country—so much better adapted to both are other regions. But for the high tariff protection it has enjoyed, very little cane-sugar would ever have been produced in it. I scarcely need add that Slavery will be of short duration in the Border Slave States after there shall be no further call on them to breed slaves for the Gulf States.

Again, Slavery in Christendom has outlived its day. Its prolonged existence in it has for many years been an exceedingly forced one. It is dying out of it very rapidly. The dark thing cannot live in the strong light of this age. The foolish thing is shamed by the wisdom of this age. The wicked thing is condemned by the better ethics which are coming to prevail in this age. In our time, one nation after another has come forth against Slavery. Few of the nations of Christendom are any longer in guilty connection with it. Russia has declared the liberty of her twenty millions of slaves; and America must now give up her four millions. The organizing of a nation at such a time as this on the basis of Slavery is an unendurable defiance of the moral sense of the civilized world. I do not deny that American Slavery, if now suffered to live, might live many years. But if killed now, it will never live again.

I rejoice to see the North so united against

this Southern rebellion. But to make the union more perfect and cordial and effective, by bringing into it with their whole heart all the wisest and best, the men of prayer and the women of prayer, and by bringing into it the Great God, the North must clear herself of all guilty relations to Slavery. It is NOT ENOUGH THAT WE HAVE A SOUTH WICKED ENOUGH TO GO AGAINST. WE MUST HAVE A NORTH RIGHTeous ENOUGH TO GO FOR. A slave catching North is no better, but is immeasurably worse, than a slave owning South. The North cannot at the same time go against and for Slavery.

JUDGE CHUMASERO'S REMARKS TO THE GRAND JURY.

Monday morning, May 6th, the May term of the County Court and Sessions opened at the County Court Room in this city. Judge CHUMASERO, after submitting to the Jury some observations and instructions as to the performance of their duties, and the business of the term, continued as follows:

The Sessions of the Courts in this County have heretofore been marked by no other demonstration than the attendance of witnesses and suitors, and the assembling together of those entrusted with the administration of justice and the laws. We meet to day under circumstances at once peculiar and extraordinary: for the first time in our lives, we see our country convulsed with a rebellion most unholy and unnatural, and find the red hand of civil war stretched forth, to clutch in its remorseless grasp, our liberties and our domestic peace. A crisis like the present warrants a departure from all ordinary custom, and while it does not absolve us from the performance of our several duties, it emphatically demands that these duties be performed in the spirit of patriotism and true devotion, that the enthusiasm of our souls be not chilled by the cold formalities of judicial action, that Judge and Jurors alike appreciate their position, not only as administrators of the law, but as united citizens of a common country, whose cherished institutions are now imperilled by the base designs of traitors and rebellious men. Strange and stirring scenes have been enacted within the last few days. At the South, the dark cloud of treason—treason against the best and noblest government ever instituted among men—treason against the dearest interests of our race—treason against God and man, broods in impenetrable gloom. Traitors, upon whom have been lavished for many years the nation's proudest gifts and honors, are now banded together to drag down our glorious Republic in one common ruin, and to imbrue their wicked hands in the blood of their brethren. At the North, all are united in one determined effort to sustain the rights of man and to preserve intact the blessed heritage we now enjoy. All men are as brothers; our churches (strange spectacle to this generation) are, on the Sabbath, decorated with flags and banners, our national emblem waves from the sacred desk, and the preacher is stopped in his patriotic utterances by the irrepressible plaudits of his staid and sober auditory. And this is right, the basis of religion is true liberty. Freedom's temple is God's temple, and that same Almighty Father who caused our banner to wave victorious amid the serried troops of foreign mercenaries, is not offended by the ardor of his children when they attempt its rescue from the desecration threatened by traitors at home.

It is best in the Divine ordinances that this crisis should come, and that it should come now. This rebellion is as causeless as it is unnatural. For many years the arrogance and domination of the South, and the almost uncomplaining forbearance of the North have been the wonder and amazement of the civilized world. During the greater portion of our national existence, the South has enjoyed almost all the offices of honor and emolument, drained our resources for her support, and been dictator of the North; while at the

same time she has contributed little to our glory, less to our treasury, and nothing to our national honor. Nay, in lieu thereof, we have been forced to become partakers in her shame and partners in her disgrace in the eyes of all civilized people. As a recompense for all this, she has lately robbed our treasury, stolen our arms, insulted our citizens, and now, as a last crowning act of damning infamy, seeks to apply the incendiary torch to the sacred temple of liberty itself! Of such traitors the doom is death—disgraceful death—and then, not oblivion, but eternal, never-ending, all-enduring execration and abhorrence.—Truly may it be said of them:

'Unprized are their sons till they learn to betray;
Undistinguished they live if they shame not
their sires;
And the torch that would lead them to victory's
way
Must be caught from the pile where their country
expires.'

This rebellion must be, as it will be, crushed, and its leaders brought to justice. There should not be—there must not be—any compromise, except upon our terms. Those terms ought to be unconditional surrender and submission; a quick and immediate delivery of the leaders into the hands of justice; restoration of the property they have seized and stolen; indemnity against the expenses we have incurred; and a total deprivation of all arms and implements of war for the period of at least one generation. If they are determined to persist in their rebellious treason, then 'cry havoc, and let slip the dogs of war.' And let it be an aggressive war; a war of conquest and subjugation, though it need for half a century a standing army to compel their obedience after having been whipped into submission. Our government must know and feel that diplomacy and crafty statesmanship are out of place on that occasion, that unflinching retribution and atonement, deep and thorough, are all we can, are all we will, are all we dare accept, and nothing less will answer. Better is it to wade knee deep in blood to conquer an enduring peace, than to be parties to a hollow and unmeaning truce. Better, if need be, that the South be desolated, and the wolf return to howl in her domains, that her cities be destroyed, her plains remain untilled, and her 'peculiar institution,' that *shibboleth* of devils, and detestation of the civilized world, be blotted out forever!

Treason is insubordination to law. The laws must be upheld, enforced, maintained. If the civil power is inadequate, then by the arm of military strength. If blood must flow, let it flow; if property must be destroyed, let destruction come; if desolation be necessary, desolate. Under any and all circumstances, the Government and the laws must be sustained, and you, and I, and all of us, must help sustain them. Have we traitors among us at the North? Ferret them out and mark them; present them to the authorities for punishment, and let them not escape. This is your duty. Be liberal with your means; devote your energies, and your whole energies, to crushing out this hostile rebellion.—Your country, your religion, your children, all call on you to do it, and to do it once, forever! Let the retribution be so terrible that posterity shall shudder when, in after times, Secession and Rebellion are even whispered among men. No ordinary fate awaits the leaders of this treason. They must either expatriate themselves or die, wandering as vagabonds upon the earth, or sleeping in the traitor's grave, their memories execrated and their names accursed. We shall emerge from this contest, purified by its fires, the brighter and more glorious for the terrible ordeal.—Peace will again be within our walls, and prosperity within our palaces. Our flag will be more than ever respected abroad, and more than ever beloved at home. We shall show the world that instead of the *weakest* we have the *strongest* Government on earth, for it is anchored in the virtue, the patriotism, the intelligence of the people—their hearts its standing army, their strong arms its bulwark and defence. Peace will again smile upon our borders, and we shall see our Union

not disintegrated nor dissolved, but firm and steadfast, moving onward and onward toward the full perfection of its glorious destiny.

Let the people of the North condemn this treason, on every occasion, and in every place; in the church, in the Court House, in the school house, in the workshop, on the farm, indoors and out of doors. Let the people ignore all party, throw aside all custom, break through all conventional barriers, and from the rising of the sun until the going down thereof, until the last traitor expiates his crime upon the scaffold, condemn this treason! Let us do our duty in this crisis, and we may rest assured that our Heavenly Father who in other 'days that tried men's souls,' preserved and blessed our country, will not desert her now, in this her time of travail, but will, 'constraining even the wrath of man to praise Him,' watch, persevere and guard her in the storm, and re-baptize her in the fullness of his love. Invoking His blessing, let us proceed to business.

FEARS OF SLAVE INSURRECTIONS.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

In the interior of South Carolina, fears of slave insurrections are exciting much alarm.—Men sleep with guns at their bedsides; women refuse to be left alone on the plantations. In one neighborhood, forty miles from Charleston, it is certain that an attempt at insurrection was put down, recently, and ten negroes were hung.

A curious practice of the negroes in some portions of the State is related by a gentleman who left Charleston a few days ago. In certain districts they would get permission now and then to have a funeral. According to their custom they went in the night, and taking a monstrous big coffin would bury it in the woods. On one occasion, the suspicions of a patrolman became aroused, and he said to the party, 'This must have been a mighty big nigger that died to-night.' He proceeded to make an examination, when it was found that the long, ghostly box contained arms.—The negroes belonged to one of the men of highest rank in the State. On another occasion, a gentleman meeting a negro with a musket in his hand, said, 'Where did you get that gun? You lay that gun down.' The negro replied evasively, 'Well, I got it;' and added in a sulky, low tone: 'We will use guns as well as you by-and-by.' The negro was shot dead a moment after these words fell from his lips.

A gentleman at Charleston, in a recent letter to a brother-in-law in Philadelphia, states that he was in that city, with the soldiers, during the late military operations, and while absent from home the negroes burned down four dwelling houses and eight stores in the town in which he resides, and four dwelling houses in the vicinity. Eight negroes were hung, and the writer says he supposes they shall have to hang a dozen more before a month passes.

LOUISIANA.

The New Orleans *Picayune* recently complained that the up-river parishes of Louisiana were very slow in furnishing their proportion of troops for the rebel army, and for the 'defence of the State.' A gentleman who has just returned from a journey through that State informs the *Evening Post* that this hesitation does not arise so much from any preponderance of the Union sentiment, as from the general fear entertained by the planters and farmers, of a rising among the slaves. Almost every plantation is doubly guarded, everywhere the slaves are watched with the utmost vigilance. Planters refuse to let any of their white employees enlist, but arm them and keep them as private guard. One planter, the owner of three hundred negroes, expressing his fears to our informant, said—'D—n the niggers, they know more about politics than most of the white men. They know everything that happens.'

TENNESSEE.

A letter has been received in New York, from the wife of Bishop Polk of Louisiana.

She, with her family of three daughters, was alone in their new house at Sewanee, Tenn. On the night of the 12th of April, their house was burned over their heads by negroes. At the same time the residence of Bishop Elliot was fired also. The ladies escaped with some few trifling injuries, but lost almost all their clothes. Books, jewelry, pictures, all were destroyed by the devouring flames. Their own family servants aided in extinguishing the fire, the women bringing their Sunday clothes to dress their mistresses. Much dissatisfaction exists among the slaves, and insurrections are likely to occur.

The Memphis *Avalanche* and other secession prints insist that no disaffection exists or is feared among the slaves; but this is a falsehood. The words of John Randolph have become literally true: 'No mother hears the alarm-bell at night without pressing her infant closer to her bosom, and trembling at the thought of a slave insurrection.' Incendiary fires have been frequent of late, and a friend says: 'When the fire-bells ring, every woman in the city is terrified, and fears that the negroes are rising. With the departure of every company of soldiers, the feeling of insecurity is increased. Reports of insurrections from various parts of the interior are rife, though they are suppressed as far as possible, and kept out of the newspapers.—An insurrection recently occurred in Hernando, Mississippi.'

The Cincinnati *Gazette*, on the authority of another gentleman from Memphis, confirms the above statement:

'The city is filled with alarms and excitements. Hundreds of women in Memphis never lay their heads upon their pillows at night without dreaming of insurrection. On every public alarm the fire bells are rung, and this brings the entire population into the street. A few nights since a rumor spread that a large body of troops were coming southward from the Ohio, and a fearful scene of excitement filled Memphis for hours. The fire bells rang furiously. The numerous mounted patriots dashed to and fro. Women shrieked. Mothers clasped their children to their bosoms in frantic agony. All was confusion, and its greatest terror lay in the doubt whether it was an insurrection on Southern soil or an invasion of Federal troops.'

MISSISSIPPI.

In Mississippi the same fears prevail, and to the same extent. Planters dare not leave their homes, and no one thinks of staying away a night from his family. The drafting of so many thousands of white residents into the rebel army fills those who remain with dread of the slaves.

MISSOURI.

The St. Louis *Democrat* says that a gentleman from Washington county, now in that city, states that on Friday last a slave boy belonging to him entered the kitchen and carried out a shovel full of coals from the fire, without exciting his suspicion, and that his barn was soon after in flames and destroyed. A colored girl in the house had threatened to burn the house. The boy coolly acknowledged what he had done, saying that all the black people were free now—that Lincoln was President, and that he set them all free.

MARYLAND.

A correspondent writing from the camp at Beltsville, Md., May 14th, says:—'The slaves here appear quite intelligent. They expect that they were soon to be freed, and say that if it was not for that hope, they would flee at once, and gain freedom or death. They are anxious that we should kill their masters, who, they say, are ready to kill us at the first opportunity.'

KENTUCKY.

Last week there were rumors in Louisville that a slave insurrection had been put down near Lexington, and the following is a minute of a conversation between a lady residing in an interior town of the State and her white servant made, as communicated by the lady herself to our informant:

Girl—'What is to become of the slaves when this war is over, ma'm?'

Lady—'Nothing. They have no interest in it.'

Girl (hesitating)—'You may think they have not; but if you could hear some of them speak as I do sometimes, you would think differently.'

Lady—'What do they say?'

Girl—'They are always whispering among themselves; and the other day one told me that in six months she would be as good as I am. They say the war is going to set them free, and they are very anxious for it to come.'

Facts like the above never get into the Southern papers, but they show the state of feeling existing among the slaves throughout the entire South.

THE SOUTH AND HER NEGROES.

A Virginia Unionist, recently driven from the State for refusing to pledge his support to the Jeff. Davis treason, writes a letter to the New York *Times*, from which we extract the following:

HOW WILL THE NEGROES ACT?

This question is beginning to assume importance. Southern newspapers boast of the loyalty of their slaves, of their anxiety to fight their Northern enemies, and triumphantly tell us that thousands are now throwing up defences and are otherwise engaged in the service of the Southern army, and many slaveholders confidently believe that their servants will assist them in this fight; but, in answering this question, I shall be obliged to tear off the mask.

Despite the efforts of Southern masters, large numbers of slaves and free negroes have learned to read, and many of them are far more intelligent than the 'poor white trash' with which the slave States abound. During the late Presidential campaign, the most interested and eager listeners at political meetings were these people; they communicated to each other what they heard, and they all understood that the question of slavery was involved in the contest, and very many believed that the election of Mr. Lincoln would secure their emancipation, and many acted in accordance with this belief. One out of many facts will illustrate this point. Soon after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, seventeen slaves, living on a plantation near Petersburg, Va., repaired to their master early one morning, and the spokesman of the party boldly told him that they had served him long enough; that they were free now, and had merely called to tell him that they were going away, and on they went. The master had no power to stop them, but he reached Petersburg before them, where he had the whole party arrested, sold, and sent to the far South. A prevalent opinion among them is that this war is a fulfillment of the prophecy recorded in the eleventh chapter of Daniel.—They have their revolutionary and patriotic songs, which they sing in private. They hold secret religious meetings, the burden of their prayer being that the Lord will help the North, and hasten the day of their emancipation. A few days ago I was traveling in the interior of Virginia. Night overtook me in the neighborhood of a farm house, where I was entertained until the next day.

That night I chanced to hear the evening devotions of the slaves in one of their huts. I was an unobserved spectator. I heard them pray for the success of the North, and one old woman wept for joy when told that the Northern armies were soon coming to set them free. 'Oh! good massa Jesus,' said she, 'let the time be short.' During this time they heard the clang of arms in their master's house, for two of his sons were members of a troop of horse, ready to start in the morning for Richmond, and were practicing with the broadswords. To their masters, the slaves pretend entire ignorance of the whole movement, but to white men in whom they confide, they reveal their hopes, fears, desires and plans. They have no arms, and could not use them if they had; but they have

other means of destruction more potent and fearful, which no power can prevent their using. When the time comes for them to act, they will know no love stronger than the love of liberty.

The free negro element has always been considered dangerous to Southern slavery, and in the present crisis, the best way to dispose of it, was an important question.

The free and enslaved are everywhere in constant and uninterrupted intercourse, and it would not be wise to leave them at home while their masters were in the army. To the Southern mind, there is nothing so terrible as the fear of a servile insurrection. On my way from Lynchburg to Alexandria, I heard a physician at one of the stations tell an acquaintance in the cars that he was the only white man left on fifteen adjoining plantations, and that nearly all the 'niggers' had been sent away. To protect themselves against negro hostility, which they know to be deep, abiding, unrelenting, and fierce, the citizens of the Southern towns and cities organized the Home Guard, and then a very cunning device was, to send the 'niggers,' free and bond, with the army, and employ them in erecting fortifications, and in performing the drudgery of the camp. Large numbers of them are thus engaged in Virginia. The free people went because they were offered good wages, when they could do nothing at home, and the slaves had no alternative but to obey orders. They are closely watched by the military, who largely outnumber them, and who fear no insurrection in their presence; but whenever a Federal army confronts their masters, and they see that the Northern troops must win the day—to use the expressive language of a slave in Richmond—they 'will fight for those who fight for them;' so that in the end, the slaveholders' fancied security may be a terrible delusion. The Southern newspapers, in noticing the promptitude with which the negroes respond to the call for their services in military operations, ascribe it to the love they bear their masters—to the loftiest patriotism, and to their hatred of their Northern enemies, as they are taught to regard the people of the North. In the writer's flight from Virginia, he was secreted for three days and nights in the house of a colored family, the head of which was among the 'patriots' at Norfolk, engaged in throwing up fortifications under the directions of Gen. Gwynn. He and his family are unrelenting in the hatred of slavery, and pray for the triumph of Northern arms, and when the time comes when such men (and the South is full of them) can strike a *sure* blow, they will strike. Already we hear of insurrections, and of extensive conflagrations, and this is but the beginning. Northern men may deplore this feeling on the part of the negroes, and the excesses to which it will give rise; but there is no help for it—the day of retribution is at hand, and there is no power to arrest its progress or its terrors.

SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

The following letter, written by JAMES HAUGHTON, a gentleman not unknown to a majority of our readers, we copy from the *Sligo (Ireland) Champion*:

DEAR SIR:—In my occasional addresses to my countrymen on the above interesting topic, I have endeavored to keep steadfastly before their view, two great principles; first, the inalienable right of every man to liberty; and, second, the duty which devolved on Irishmen, in an especial manner, to sustain that principle in America. The first is a plain and simple proposition, which no man can misunderstand. Equal liberty is the right of every individual, in every state and community. That law is unjust, and should be resisted by every human being, which does not look with an equal eye on all its members of the human family. No exception can be justly made to this rule. Therefore, slavery should not be tolerated for an hour. The man who is held

as a slave, is justified in the use of any means, which his conscience does not condemn—(according to the united decision of mankind in every country and in every age)—in endeavors to free himself from that condition whenever he can. Men resort even to the shedding of blood in cases trifling in comparison with the one I am now considering; if it be lawful, or expedient, in any case to go to this length, the man who is manacled by another, and held as property, as if he were a soulless brute, is surely justifiable in the act, whether he be white or black; the color makes no difference; it is the outrage on humanity which is alone to be considered.

I shall define now what I mean by the term slave. That man is not a slave who is deprived of some of his rights, by an unjust system of government; such a condition as this exists everywhere, to some extent, and when it becomes too galling to be borne any longer, resistance, even by force of arms, has always been justified by the majority of mankind, and when successful, applauded as an act of heroism and virtue. I do not myself approve of such means; I consider them unchristian, and I believe they have seldom assisted in the promotion of freedom. Slavery is that condition in which a man is, by his fellow man, denied all his rights as a human being; wherein he is treated by force, as a brute—liable to be transferred from hand to hand, without his own consent—placed on the auction stand, and knocked down to the highest bidder—having no right to himself, to his wife, to his child—no will of his own, which he can for a moment exercise; in a word, wherein he is held as a mere chattel. This is slavery; and it only exhibits a desire to evade the question at issue, when the condition of the slave is likened to that of the man deprived of some or all of his political rights. There is no analogy between the two conditions.

This is the condition of the human being held in slavery in America, which your correspondent, James McGowan, Captain 8th Company, 131st Regiment U. S. Militia, Virginia, has, in your issue of the 30th ult., the hardihood to defend, and *which he has sworn to sustain*. Let me reverse the picture for a moment, and ask this countryman of ours, if he were in the place of one of the slaves whose comforts and luxuries he paints in such glowing colors as makes one almost envy their fortunate position, would he consider that any oath taken by his soul driver to keep him as his piece of property forever, was a just excuse for the deed? Place Captain McGowan on the auction stand, let him hear all his physical qualities dilated on, in order to enhance his money value, and will the fact that he may be well clothed, and well fed, and permitted to 'sport a fine gold watch,' (what a heaven upon earth this Irishman describes American slavery to be,) reconcile him to the condition he so wishes 'the poor of Ireland were placed in?' His pale complexion would become paler at the horrible prospect, and he would then learn to know and to feel, what every man in Ireland knows and feels, that slavery is a condition that the most poverty stricken man among us would reject with scorn, even surrounded with all the fine accompaniments which your correspondent so glowing describes, as the happy condition of those most favored sons of toil—these human chattels of America. For shame, Mr. McGowan, recall the word that you are a son of old Erin, or quit your present position, and unite with every Irishman who is an honor and not a disgrace to his country, in upholding the right of every man to his personal freedom.

I repeat, what I have often said before, on the best authority, Irishmen, as a general rule, are opposed to the rights of the colored man in America; and this reflects deeply on our honor, in the eyes of the world; for Irishmen are a numerous body in America; and if they took the side of freedom, slavery could not stand a moment in the land of their adoption; therefore, with us rests the disgrace of the continuance of a vile system with which man is at war in every land the world over.

It is true, Mr. Editor, that I do give my notions on this question to the world as truth, (to quote the language of Capt. McGowan,) because they are true; and they find an echo in every true man's bosom. I do not care to go much into the treatment of slaves in America, for that is beside the question; golden fetters are even more galling than iron fetters. The petted slave is the most miserable being of the whole lot, and the one who most chafes at his wretched condition; he is continually liable to be transferred from his favored place as a domestic servant—where he is often treated with kindness such as your correspondent describes—to that of a field slave, where cruelty is the rule, and kindness almost, or altogether, unknown. I am better acquainted with the real facts of the case—although I never was in America—than Capt. McGowan gives me credit for. But even if I were more ignorant of the facts than I really am, it is quite sufficient for me to know, and it ought to be sufficient for every Irishman, at home and abroad, to know that slavery—such as I have described it—exists in America, to make us all its decided and determined opponents. No other course is consistent with our honor, or with the glory of our country. We have been much oppressed ourselves, and we still have many evils to complain of; but we are free to complain, and to grumble as hard as we please, so that we are bound in conscience and in consistency, as much as any people, to cry aloud against slavery wherever it exists—but especially in America, where it exists solely because our countrymen, so many of whom have made that land their home, give to the vile system their countenance and support, and the poor victims of which dare not utter a complaint against it.

As I may not intrude too much on your space at present, you will kindly permit me on a future occasion, to reply to some portions of Capt. McGowan's letter which, for the reason stated, I have omitted to notice in this letter. Thanking you heartily for your willingness to allow this question which bears so closely on the fame of our beloved Ireland, to be discussed in your columns,

I remain, very truly, yours,

JAMES HAUGHTON.

35, Eccles St., Dublin, 2d April, 1861.

THE REIGN OF TERROR.

MR. FREDERICK DOUGLASS: DEAR SIR:—If you are of opinion the enclosed stanzas will hasten the downfall of slavery, by augmenting the detestation of the anti-slavery party against it, their appearance in the columns of your journal will gratify many a well-wisher of your success in the cause you have espoused, for which you have suffered, and in which you have so nobly fought.

A READER.

Away—away—for Terror here
Usurps an universal reign;
Away like righteous Lot, in fear,
Nor tarry thou in all the plain;
Away—for through the Western Isles,
Which sprang from ocean's bed in smiles,
The Demon stalks and claims the whole,
Like him who once to Eden stole,
And spread the blight of death:
His music is the victim's cry,
His shrivelling glance is in the eye—
Infection in his breath.

Talk not of joy where Slavery reigns,
Of bright'ning hopes midst 'hope deferr'd';
The negro's joys are hung in chains—
The negro's hopes are all interr'd:
He sees the writing on the wall,
In laws enacted to enthrall,
And seems, in every driver's hand,
To see upon the desert sand
The lion's fatal paw.
And in the voice of men of blood,
To hear the roar that shakes the wood,
And holds a soul in awe

Foul Misery, like a blast from hell,
Hath forced throughout the soul its way,
As mighty tempests, when they swell,
And toss on high the ocean spray,
And every flood, in maniac form,
Becomes the plaything of the storm

Still driving onwards, till the tide
Hath burst the vessel's rampart side,
Through which the torrents pour—
And pour like cataracts from the rocks,
Tremendous as the earthquake's shocks,
While all her dungeons roar.

His woe-worn face was full and round,
Where health sat smiling through the jet,
And eyes still more expressive found
Are sunk, like suns untimely set;
But deeper shadows than the skin,
Like mists, from troubled thoughts within,
Arise, to dim the joyous sight,
And fret away the frame of might,
Without the power to flee;
Those shadows, sudden as a squall,
Flit o'er the face, and darken all,
Like winds across the sea.

Lo! in the precincts of the court,
Where Justice only should preside,
To blacks, for proof, will none resort,
The white man's oath is ne'er denied;
Though undefiled the negro's hands,
In lifeless silence still he stands;
His inward spirit shrieks unheard,
Unheeded like the wailing bird
Upon some lonely tower,
While Terror, from his lurid seat,
And withering as the lightning's heat
Descends supreme in power.

To slaves—except the Christian few—
The Sabbath's holy calm is lost,
And these* their weekly toils pursue,
With minds by human tempests to-s'd;
There boding thoughts from endless ills,
Like floods amidst the wildest hills,
Which rage throughout the lengthened night,
Rush headlong from their fearful height,
And court the stream that flows;
For, stooping from its dreary place,
The mind sweeps through the means of grace,
Till fury finds repose.

But oft, ere that repose is found,
The men of Belial crowd the road,
And dare to visit holy ground,
And stand among the sons of God?
Where demon art the balance holds,
To weigh the truth the priest unfolds;
Or basely—and by civil test,
Confound the freedom of the blest,
With freedom to the slave;
And boldly charge that priest to flee,
Or try, with cruel mockery,
And doom him to the grave.

The negro, branded at the mart,
Pours forth in vain the rending sigh;
A single bid will quail his heart,
And sever each domestic tie;
And wheresoe'er his feet may roam,
His manhood ne'er will know a home!
No wife to sooth, or raise his head!
No infant child to cheer his bed,
Or fan affection's flame!
His grave is distant and alone,
The spot by wife and babes unknown—
No tablet for his name.

Not one of all the infant throng,
That lies upon a mother's knee,
But gives to agony—a tongue,
Unknown to children of the free;
Unknown to those whose tears but flow
From transient fits of tiny woe,
And who, like troubled sea-birds, cry,
While passing through the stormy sky,
And then—upon the wave—
As softly fall as gleams of light,
And float in beauty to the sight,
All fearless as a grave.

Ah! no—to babes in slavery born,
Few are the seas and skies serene,
All ruthless, from a mother torn,
Her weeping image still is seen;
Her distant voice they seem to hear,
In lingering tones on memory's ear;
Now echoing sweet—now wildly roll
Through all the regions of the soul—
Then soft—and far away—
Like music on the midnight lake,
Till, starting from the dream, they wake
To misery a prey.

Nor say, the mother cannot feel,
At whom the poisoned dart is flung;
The body owns the quivering steel,
The tortured wild-cat loves her young;
And can she from her babes depart,
Whose life-strings twine around her heart—

* In the West Indies.

Those babes, whom nature e'er must own,
As flesh of flesh, and bone of bone,
And part without a pang?
O no! employ the scourge, the knife,
And tear the limbs, and threaten life,
On these she still must hang.

Away—away—for Terror here
Usurps an universal reign,
Where parents, children, live in fear,
And walk upon their kindred slain.
Away—for now those beauteous isles,
With breath of balm, and face of smiles—
Which yet had man's Elysium been,
Had man himself not changed the scene—
Are threatened from above;
And Judgment, though it linger long,
Will burst in wrath for Afric's wrong,
And now begins to move.

Away—for men of blood have piled
The fabric of their guilt so high,
That dark, o'er isles, which e'er had smiled,
It spreads its shadow to the eye:
Away—for Vengeance springs to birth,
And with the whirlwind sweeps the earth,
And bears, like Autumn leaves, away
The men of guilt, whose iron sway
Hold innocence in chains;
Away—for down the fabric falls,
The voice of blood for justice calls,
And God in vengeance reigns.

Awake—AMERICA, awake!
Ere terminates the day of grace;
Repent, and timely warning take,
While Mercy gives thee time and space:
Repent—like Nineveh, repent,
With smitten heart, and garments rent.
A brother's voice has pierced the sky,
A brother's blood is in the cry,
And Vengeance shakes the rod;
O haste! redress a brother's woe,
Nor think to shun the menaced blow—
Prepare to meet thy God!

JAMES EVERETT.

Sunderland, Durham, (Eng.)

EMIGRATION TO HAYTI.

CIRCULAR.—NO. I.

To the Blacks, Men of Color, and Indians in the United States and British North American Provinces:

FRIENDS:—I am authorized and instructed by the Government of the Republic, to offer you, individually and by communities, a welcome, a home, and a free homestead, in Hayti.

Such of you as are unable to pay your passage will be provided with the means of defraying it.

Two classes of emigrants are especially invited—laborers and farmers. None of either class, or any class, will be furnished with passports, who cannot produce, before sailing, the proofs of good character for industry and integrity.

To each family of emigrants, five carreaux (a carreau is 3 acres and 3 1-3 rods) of fresh and fertile land, capable of growing all the fruits and staples of the tropics, will be gratuitously given, on the sole condition that they shall settle on it and cultivate it, and declare their intention of becoming citizens of Hayti. To unmarried men, on similar conditions, two carreaux will be granted.

Board and lodging, free of cost, will be furnished to the emigrants for at least eight days after their arrival in the island.

The government also will find remunerative work for those of you whose means will not permit you to begin immediately an independent cultivation.

Emigrants are invited to settle in communities.

Sites for the erection of schools and chapels will be donated by the State, without regard to the religious belief of the emigrants.

The same protection and civil rights that the laws give to Haytians are solemnly guaranteed to the emigrants.

The fullest religious liberty will be secured to them; they will never be called on to support the Roman Catholic Church.

No military service will be demanded of them, excepting that they shall form military companies and drill themselves once a month.

All the necessary personal effects, machinery and agricultural instruments introduced by the emigrants, shall be entered free of duty.

The emigrants shall be at liberty to leave the country at any moment they please; but those whose passage shall be paid by government, if they wish to return before the expiration of

three years, will be required to refund the money expended on their account. A contract, fixing the amount, will be made with each emigrant before leaving the continent.

I have been commissioned to superintend the interests of the emigrants, and charged with the entire control of the movement in America, and all persons, therefore, desiring to avail themselves of the invitation and bounty of the Haytian Government, are requested to correspond with me.

I shall at once, as directed by the Government, establish a bureau of emigration in Boston, and publish a Guide Book for the use of these persons of African or Indian descent who may wish to make themselves acquainted with the resources of the country and the disposition of its authorities.

I shall also appoint Agents to visit such communities as may seriously entertain the project of emigration.

Immediate arrangements, both here and in Hayti, can be made for the embarkment and settlement of one hundred thousand persons.

By order of the Government of the Republic of Hayti.

JAMES REDPATH,

General Agent of Emigration.

Boston, Nov. 3, 1860.

CIRCULAR.—NO. VI.

HAYTIAN BUREAU OF EMIGRATION, }
Boston, March 8, 1861. }

To Men of African descent in the United States and Canadas:

FRIENDS:—Arrangements have been made by this Bureau by which emigrants can sail from this port in regular packets, every two weeks, or oftener, for the Republic of Hayti.

Those who go by these packets must in all cases pay their own passage; the price of which will be \$18, provisions being found. This is about one-third the usual rates of charge from Northern ports.

Whenever any colony of eighty, or over, signify their readiness to sail at a designated time, a vessel will be chartered expressly for the purpose of conveying them comfortably and speedily from either Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or Washington, to Hayti. Price of passage, same as above. Children under 12 years, half price; under 2, free.

Laborers and farmers, going by these chartered vessels, if unable to pay their own passage, can have it advanced to them, including provisions. But they must furnish their own bedding for the voyage.

All whose passage money is thus advanced will sign a contract engaging to repay the amount (\$18) to the Government of Hayti within three years, in case they take grants of Government lands, or choose to leave the country within the time specified.

Those who do not choose to accept Government lands, but remain over three years in the Island, will not be required to repay it at all.

Emigrants must defray their own expenses in reaching the port of embarkation.

Those who go in vessels specially chartered by this Bureau will be allowed to take any reasonable amount of household goods and farming implements free of charge.

Those who go by regular packets will be charged for freight at the rate of 90 cents per barrel, or 18 cents per square foot.

Usual length of voyage, from 14 to 20 days.

All who design to emigrate are earnestly requested to give this Bureau ample notice of their readiness to sail.

JAMES REDPATH,
General Agent.

CIRCULAR.—NO. VII.

HAYTIAN BUREAU OF EMIGRATION, }
Boston, March 20, 1861. }

Experience has shown that it has become an imperative necessity that a change should be made from the terms of a recent Circular relative to the system of boarding emigrants during their passage to the Republic of Hayti. It was stated that passengers might choose between boarding themselves or paying \$8 in advance for their board. The passengers both by the "Janet Kidston" and the "Mary A. Jones," decided to board themselves; but, in both cases, in a majority of instances, failed to provide for the wants of an ordinary voyage. If this system were continued, a long passage would necessarily result in starvation, unless the Bureau should provide against such a contingency, by laying in a sufficient amount of provisions. To avoid the expense, therefore, the embarrassment and danger attending the present system, after a full consultation with other agents and men experienced in the business, I have come to the resolution to have the ship provide provisions for all the emigrants,

and to include the expense of board in the sum to be specified in the contract. That is to say, passengers will either pay \$18 for an emigrant's passage, their board being found and cooked for them, or sign a contract to pay that sum after one, two, or three years, as they prefer, with the important exception, also, that those who may remain more than three years and decide not to accept of the Government grant of lands, will never be required to repay any amount whatever.

This arrangement, it is hoped, will overcome the difficulty expressed by many industrious men, but without money, who, living in the interior, have not found it possible to pay their expenses to the seaboard, and then to provide themselves with provisions (as the United States laws require) for at least one month in advance.

The board provided for emigrants will be the navy rations of the United States, minus intoxicating spirits, which will not be allowed in our vessels. The following is the fare:

NAVY RATION FOR EACH DAY OF THE WEEK.

Days.	Bread.	Beef.	Pork.	Flour.	Rice.	Dried Fruit.	Pickles.	Sugar.	Tea.	Choice of other.	Butter.	Cheese.	Beans.	Molasses.	Vinegar.	Water.
Sunday ..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Monday ..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tuesday ..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wednesday ..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Thursday ..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Friday ..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Saturday ..	14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	98	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Every emigrant should be provided with a mattress two feet wide, and bedding, a gallon tin can, (for water,) a tin cup, a tin plate, knife and fork, a few pounds of soap, and towels, with such extra utensils as may be deemed necessary to hold the daily rations.

As efforts have been industriously made by unscrupulous men to misrepresent the conditions under which emigrants who not prepay their passages, will accept the offers of the Government of Hayti, it is deemed advisable to publish below, in full, the contract to be made with them. The words in italic and within brackets (blank in the original) are filled up to show precisely the terms on which a single man can emigrate. It should be distinctly understood, that no barrier whatever will be put to any man's return, excepting that he shall pay the sum of eighteen dollars before embarking for the United States, if he did not pay for his own passage from this country to Hayti. The Government of Hayti, while they will welcome all visitors, cannot reasonably be expected to pay their passages. Hence this provision.

The following is the contract with the emigrants who do not prepay their passages:

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this [first] day of [January] A. D. 1861, by and between JAMES REDPATH, of Boston, General Agent of Emigration, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Hayti, and [John Smith,] late of [Detroit, Michigan,] and an emigrant to Hayti;

WITNESSETH: That said James Redpath, on behalf of the Government of Hayti aforesaid, agrees to provide a passage for said [John Smith] from the port of [Boston] to the port of [St. Mark] in said Hayti, in the [Brig L'Ami d'Hayti] leaving the port of [Boston] on or about the [third] day of [January] 1861, upon the conditions hereafter following, viz:

First, said [John Smith] hereby acknowledges the receipt of [a] ticket of passage from said port of [Boston] to said port of [St. Mark] in Hayti, and agrees during the term of said voyage to provide [his] own bedding, and the necessary utensils for eating and drinking. Secondly, in consideration of receiving the passage aforesaid, said [John Smith] further agrees, that if he accepts a grant of land from the Government of Hayti, under the provisions of the law on Emigration, approved by His Excellency, the President of the Republic of Hayti, September 1, 1860, he will repay to the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti the sum of [eighteen] dollars, American currency, within [three years] from the date of the contract.

Furthermore, that if from any cause said [John Smith] sees proper to leave Hayti before the expiration of the term of three years from the date of [his] arrival in the Island, [he] shall pay the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti the sum of [eighteen] dollars, Amer-

ican currency, as repayment of expenses incurred by the agents of the Government for [his] passage to Hayti; but, nevertheless, with this express provision: That if [he] does remain three years in the Island from the date of [his] arrival therein, and does not see fit to accept a grant of land from the Government of the Republic of Hayti, [he] shall not be required to repay to the Treasury of the Republic of Hayti, or any agent of Government thereof, any sum whatever on account of said passage.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year above written.

[L. S.]
[L. S.]

[John Smith.]
JAMES REDPATH.

First cabin passengers, by Government vessels, will be charged \$30 (payable invariably in advance,) which will include all the necessities of a voyage to the tropics, and first-rate fare.

JAMES REDPATH,
General Agent.

LAWS ON EMIGRATION.

I.

Law on the Emigration into the Country of Persons of the African and Indian Races.

FABRE GEFFRARD, President of Hayti, By the advice of the Council of the Secretaries of State and the Legislative Bodies, after having considered and declared the urgency of it, has rendered the following law:

Article I. After the promulgation of the present law, five carreaux of land will be granted, free of all charge, to every family of laborers or cultivators, of the African or Indian races who shall arrive in the Republic. This grant will be reduced to two carreaux when the laborer or cultivator is unmarried.

Art. II. These grants will be delivered, without expense, and with a provisional title, to every family that shall have made, before the proper magistrate, the declaration prescribed by law with the view of obtaining naturalization, and they will be converted into final grants after the residence of a year and a day in the country.

Art. III. The final grants will be given in exchange for the provisional grants only when it shall have been ascertained by the Government agents that cultivation has already commenced on the property granted.

Art. IV. The grantee shall not have power to dispose of his grant before the expiration of seven consecutive years of occupation. Nevertheless, he will be able to obtain the authority to exchange his grant for another property, but only on the conditions, terms, and with the powers above named.

The present law shall be promptly executed by the Secretary of State, of the Interior, and of Agriculture.

Given at the National House of Port-au-Prince, the 5th day of September, year 57th of Independence.

The President of the Senate: F. LACRUZ.
The Secretaries: CELASTIN, J. Y. MENDOZA.

Given at the Chamber of Representatives of Port-au-Prince, the 5th of September, 1860, year 57th of Independence.

The President of the Chamber: W. CHANLATTE.
The Secretaries: J. THEBAUD, F. RICHIEZ.

In the name of the Republic:

The President of Hayti ordains that the foregoing law of the Legislative Bodies be stamped with the seal of the Republic, published and executed.

Given at the National Palace of Port-au-Prince the 6th day of September, 1860, year 57th of Independence.

By the President: GEFFRARD.
The Secretary of State of the Interior and of Agriculture, F. JN. JOSEPH.

The Secretary of War and the Marine, T. DEJOIE.
The Keeper of the Seals, Sec. of State of the General Police, JH. LAMOTHE.

The Secretary of State of Justice, etc., F. E. DUBOIS.
The Sec. of State of Finances, Commerce, and Exterior Relations, VN. PLESANCE.

II.

Law on the Naturalization of Emigrants of the African and Indian Races.

FABRE GEFFRARD:

On the report of the Secretary of State of Justice, and by the advice of the Council of the Secretaries of State,

Considering that prompt action is demanded in behalf of those who possess the required

qualifications to become Haytiens, in order to enable them with facility to enter into the immediate enjoyment of the right attached to naturalization,

Proposes the following law:

Article I. Article 14 of the Civil Code is modified as follows: All those who by virtue of the Constitution are unable to acquire the rights of Haytian citizens, must, during the first month of their arrival in the country, before the Justice of the Peace of their residence, and in the presence of two well known citizens, make a declaration to the effect that they come with the intention of settling in the Republic. They will, at the same time, before the Justice of the Peace, take oath that they renounce every other country save Hayti.

Art. II. Provided with the verbal process of the Justice of the Peace, setting forth the declaration that they come to settle in the Republic, and their taking of the oath, they will present themselves at the offices of the President of Hayti, to receive an act from the Chief of the State recognizing them citizens of the Republic.

Art. III. The present law annuls all laws or measures which are contrary to it, and shall be executed with dispatch by the Secretary of State for Justice.

Given at the National Palace of Port-au-Prince, the 27th day of August, 1860, the 57th year of Independence. GEFFRARD.

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BILLS! BILLS!! BILLS!!!—In our last issue we sent out bills to those subscribers who are still owing us, hoping that they would readily respond. Some have promptly done so, and they have our thanks; but there are hundreds of others who have not yet attended to our demand, and we earnestly entreat of them to delay no longer. Give us our dues, friends.

LA RUE'S PANOPTICON.—We had the pleasure of witnessing, in Corinthian Hall, the other evening, this wonderful Panopticon or life-moving mechanical exhibition of the War in India and the Sepoy Rebellion, which has been on exhibition for a week in this city. It is attracting hundreds of admirers every evening, and we would recommend our friends who have not already done so, to go and see it.

—Gen. Caleb Cushing recently tendered his services to the Governor of Massachusetts, to act in any capacity where he may be needed in serving his country. The Governor, knowing his pro-slavery views and sympathy with the South, wrote him a letter declining his valuable services.

TERMS OF DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

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FREDERICK DOUGLASS, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

AGENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

We take the liberty of using the names of the following gentlemen who will receive names and subscriptions for *Douglass' Monthly* in Great Britain:

Halifax—Rev. RUSSELL LANT CARPENTER, Milton Place; Rev. Dr. CROFTS, North Parade.
London—Mr. L. A. CAMEROVZOW, Anti-Slavery Office, 27, New Broad Street, E. C.
Dublin—Mr. WM. WEBB, 52, High Street, and 8, Dunville Avenue, Rathmines.
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